

A completely revised, enlarged edition of a classic work

# OUR BIBLE AND THE ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS

SIR FREDERIC KENYON

Revision by A. W. Adams, Introduction by G. R. Driver

The full story of how the Scriptures have come to us,  
including the latest textual and archaeological  
discoveries, with 49 full-page plates illustrating ancient  
papyri, manuscripts and early printed versions

"Those who use the work of such a man [as Kenyon] may rest assured that it is, so far as humanly possible, accurate and trustworthy."—G. R. DRIVER

# **OUR BIBLE AND THE ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS**

**Sir Frederic Kenyon**

The recent significant findings of archaeologists in Palestine, the deciphering of ancient scripts, and, especially, the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls have led to a thorough revision of this work, a recognized classic for more than 60 years.

It was the first authoritative account of the subject, expressly designed for the educated and intelligent layman, by a scholar who united exceptional experience in the field with unrivaled powers of popularization. The essential character of Kenyon's work has been kept, but the additional material brings the book completely up to date.

*(Continued on back flap)*

*(Continued from front flap)*

Here then is the fascinating story of how the Bible was transmitted from ancient times up to the latest printings of new English translations. The narrative begins with the development of writing among the ancient peoples, covers the Hebrew and other versions of the Old Testament, the manuscripts and ancient translations of the New Testament, the Vulgate, and English manuscript and printed Bibles. A major new chapter describes "Revisions and Translations since 1881."

The 49 illustrations make graphic the ways in which men have preserved the Book of Books. New plates include fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls of Isaiah and Exodus, a specimen of the Cretan Linear B, and Phoenician writings, while new and improved blocks of the ancient codices have been made for this edition.

Sir Frederic Kenyon was a pioneer in the field of papyrology and for many years Director of the British Museum. A. W. Adams is Dean of Divinity and Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford University. He is also Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint.

# BOOKS ABOUT THE BIBLE

## THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE

by DENIS BALLY

Historical geology, climate, vegetation, animal life, agriculture and the cultural life of the people are all examined for the effect each had on Biblical concepts. 48 maps and diagrams. 97 photographs. "A fascinating book."

—*Christian Century*

## THE REDISCOVERY OF THE BIBLE

by WILLIAM NEIL

"He has answered two questions which must be in the mind of every intelligent person who has any concern for religion: what is the net result of the critical study of the Bible, and what is the value of the Bible for us today?"

—W. R. MATTHEWS, Dean of St. Paul's, London

## TWENTIETH CENTURY BIBLE COMMENTARY

edited by G. HENTON DAVIES, ALAN RICHARDSON, CHARLES L. WALLIS

A completely up-to-date, one-volume Bible commentary which gives the latest findings of Biblical scholarship in a compact, practical form for church school teachers, ministers, students and all who want help in using and studying the Bible. "Within the limits of a single volume of 600 pages there is no better source of essential information about the Bible."—*Religious Book Club*

## HARPER'S BIBLE DICTIONARY

by MADELEINE S. and J. LANE MILLER

Every person, place or event of any significance in biblical history. 3,015 entries, 424 halftones, 108 line drawings and maps. "It is clearly and succinctly written, superbly illustrated, up-to-date, and usable. An absolute must."

—*Pulpit Digest*

## ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BIBLE LIFE

by MADELEINE S. and J. LANE MILLER

"A monumental book of reference. One hundred full pages of illustrations, twenty-two sections covering 1,694 subjects, twelve pages of color maps and five indexes. Agriculture, animals, arts and crafts, business, homes, nutrition, transportation, social structures, professions, worship, and a dozen other subjects are given careful treatment."

—*International Journal of Religious Education*



---

OUR BIBLE AND THE  
ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS

---





*Frontispiece.*

*Codex Lichfeldensis: The Chad Gospels  
Lichfield Cathedral Library*

SIR FREDERIC KENYON

---

OUR BIBLE AND THE  
ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS

---

REVISED BY

A. W. ADAMS

*Dean of Divinity of Magdalen College  
Oxford*

Introduction by

G. R. DRIVER

*Fellow of Magdalen College and  
Professor of Semitic Philology, Oxford*

HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS

NEW YORK AND EVANSTON

*Copyright 1958 by Kathleen Mary Kenyon and Gwendoline Margaret Ritchie  
Executors, Estate of Frederic George Kenyon*

*First published 1958  
Reprinted 1962*

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
FOR HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS, INCORPORATED

## CONTENTS

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| INTRODUCTION   | 11  |
| I ANCIENT BOOKS AND WRITING                          | 19  |
| II VARIATIONS IN THE BIBLE TEXT                      | 47  |
| III THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE BIBLE TEXT               | 56  |
| IV THE HEBREW OLD TESTAMENT                          | 61  |
| V THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT          | 89  |
| VI THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT                     | 155 |
| APPENDIX: THE CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE NEW<br>TESTAMENT | 179 |
| VII THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT             | 185 |
| VIII THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT       | 220 |
| IX THE VULGATE IN THE MIDDLE AGES                    | 250 |
| X THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT BIBLES                      | 265 |
| XI THE ENGLISH PRINTED BIBLE                         | 282 |
| XII REVISIONS AND TRANSLATIONS SINCE 1881            | 320 |
| APPENDIX I: NOTABLE VARIOUS READINGS                 | 332 |
| APPENDIX II: SPECIMENS OF ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS       | 342 |
| GENERAL INDEX  | 343 |
| INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES                           | 351 |





## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

### *Frontispiece*

Codex Lichfeldensis: The Chad Gospels  
*Lichfield Cathedral Library*

### *between pages 96 and 97*

- I Cuneiform Script: clay tablet from Tell el-Amarna—*circa* 1380 B.C.  
*British Museum*
- II (i) Hittite Cuneiform Tablet  
*Reproduced by permission of the Berlin State Museum*  
(ii) Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscription  
*British Museum*
- III Cretan Linear B Inscription  
*Ashmolean Museum*
- IV Phoenician Alphabet:  
(i) The Gezer Calendar,  
(ii) The Siloam Inscription  
*Reproduced by permission of the British Academy*
- V Phoenician Script:  
(i) Letter from Lachish  
(ii) Dead Sea Fragments of Exodus  
*Reproduced by permission of the Palestine Archaeological Museum*
- VI Ras Shamra Alphabetic Tablet  
*Reproduced by permission of the British Academy*
- VII The Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah A  
*Photograph by John C. Trever, courtesy "The Biblical Archaeologist"*
- VIII Papyrus Roll of first century A.D.  
*British Museum*
- IX Hebrew MS.—tenth century  
*British Museum*
- X and XI The London Polyglot—1654-7  
*British Museum*
- XII Oldest Samaritan MS. from Nablus
- XIII Palimpsest MS. of Aquila's version from the Cairo Geniza  
*Cambridge University Library*
- XIV Papyrus Fragments of Deuteronomy—second century B.C.  
*John Rylands Library, Manchester*
- XV Chester Beatty Codex of Numbers-Deuteronomy—second century
- XVI Codex Sarravianus—fifth century  
*University Library, Leyden*

### *between pages 160 and 161*

- XVII Codex Marchalianus—sixth century  
*Vatican Library*
- XVIII Complutensian Polyglot—1522
- XIX Erasmus' New Testament—1516
- XX Chester Beatty Gospels Papyrus—early third century
- XXI Chester Beatty Papyrus of Pauline Epistles—early third century
- XXII Fragment of St. John's Gospel—second century  
*John Rylands Library, Manchester*

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- XXIII Codex Sinaiticus—fourth century, fully open  
*British Museum*
- XXIV Codex Alexandrinus—fifth century  
*British Museum*
- XXV (i) Codex Vaticanus—fourth century  
*Vatican Library*
- (ii) Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus—fifth century  
*Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*
- XXVI Codex Bezae—sixth century  
*Cambridge University Library*
- XXVII Washington Codex of Gospels—late fourth or fifth century  
*Freer Collection, Washington*
- XXVIII Cursive Greek MS.  
*British Museum*
- XXIX Harkleian Syriac MS.  
*British Museum*
- XXX Sahidic Codex of Acts—fourth century  
*British Museum*
- XXXI Ethiopic MS.—seventeenth century  
*British Museum*
- XXXII Codex Vercellensis—fourth century  
*Vercelli, North Italy*

## *between pages 288 and 289*

- XXXIII Codex Laudianus—seventh century  
*Bodleian Library*
- XXXIV Codex Amiatinus—*circa* 715  
*Laurentian Library, Florence*
- XXXV The Lindisfarne Gospels—*circa* 690  
*British Museum*
- XXXVI Alcuin's Vulgate—ninth century  
*British Museum*
- XXXVII The Mazarin, or Gutenberg, Bible—1456  
*British Museum*
- XXXVIII First Bible in Roman Type: The Latin Vulgate of the 'R-Printer'.  
*Strasbourg circa* 1470
- XXXIX The Rushworth Gospels  
*Bodleian Library*
- XL English Gospels—early twelfth century  
*British Museum*
- XLI Wycliffe's Bible—*circa* 1382  
*British Museum*
- XLII The Later Wycliffite Bible—early fifteenth century  
*British Museum*
- XLIII Tyndale's New Testament—1525
- XLIV Coverdale's Bible—1535
- XLV The Great Bible—1539
- XLVI The Geneva Bible
- XLVII (i) The Rheims New Testament—1582
- (ii) The Douai Old Testament—1609
- XLVIII Title-page of the Authorized Version—1611

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Editor and the Publishers would like to acknowledge the courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum and the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the John Rylands Library, Manchester, the Trustees of the British Museum and of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Oxford University Press, Pelican Books Ltd., and others who have assisted in the provision of photographic materials and blocks.



## INTRODUCTION

BY G. R. DRIVER

*Fellow of Magdalen College and Professor of Semitic Philology, Oxford*

Sir Frederic George Kenyon, the author of this book, came of a family distinguished in several fields, notably in the army and in the law; but two of his ancestors had been outstanding scholars in their time. His maternal grandfather Edward Hawkins, botanist and numismatist, the author of a well-known work on English coins, was Keeper of Antiquities in the British Museum, and his father, John Robert Kenyon, was an eminent lawyer who became Vinerian Professor of Law at Oxford.

Kenyon was born in 1863. He became in turn a scholar of Winchester College and of New College, Oxford. At both he greatly distinguished himself and at both he early showed his interest in the Bible, of which his mother read a chapter every day after breakfast to the family, winning the Moore-Stevens Prize for Divinity at school and the Junior Hall-Houghton Prize for the Greek Testament at the University. After a brilliant undergraduate career, he was placed in the first class in both Classical Moderations and the Final School of *Literae Humaniores*; and in 1888 he was elected a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. He had, however, little inclination for an academic career, and in 1889 he entered the British Museum as an Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts and Printed Books. There he spent the rest of his working life, eventually becoming one of the most distinguished Directors that the Museum has ever had. At the same time, he never forgot the colleges in which he had been brought up; he was a frequent and welcome visitor at Magdalen College, and he became a Fellow and in time Warden of Winchester College.

Heredity and upbringing thus marked Kenyon out for a career of scholarship; and the good fortune that had smiled on him in his early days continued her favours till the very years of his retirement; and few men can have done more to deserve their good fortune by putting it to the best possible use.

Entering the Museum in 1889, as already said, Kenyon was summoned in January 1890 to the departmental laboratory,



where a number of papyrus rolls were spread out under glass under a table, and he was told to examine them. He was able to identify them as containing the lost treatise of Aristotle on the *Athenian Constitution*, one of the most remarkable discoveries in the history of papyrology. The work of decipherment was not easy, since the text was written in a very curious hand and employed a number of abbreviations; but he persevered and was successful in publishing it in the next year. His edition was a remarkable achievement for so young a scholar, and it received much praise from the learned world, although not without blemishes; these, inevitable in a pioneering work, were removed in the course of successive reprints, and a new epoch in Greek scholarship might almost be said to have begun. Equally remarkable works of the same sort followed one after the other with surprising rapidity: for example, Trypho's treatise on the *Art of Grammar*, a long medical work by an unknown author, and several lost speeches (more or less imperfectly preserved) of Attic orators. The most interesting perhaps were the *Mimes of Herodas*, at that time an unknown genre of Greek literature and correspondingly difficult for the modern interpreter, and the *Poems of Bacchylides*, a classical poet akin to Pindar. Further, he published in 1893 the first and in 1898 the second volume of the catalogue of *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. During these years he was also continuously engaged in official duties, which sometimes took him far afield, as in 1892 to Vienna to negotiate the purchase of a collection of Greek papyri for the Museum.

Less technical works were not overlooked. In 1899 Kenyon produced his *Palaeography of the Greek Papyri*, which had grown out of an essay for the Conington Prize at Oxford; this is still probably the only monograph on the subject in the English language and has therefore not lost its value, although it has been superseded in many respects by works in other languages.

Kenyon had now won so high a reputation in the world of scholarship and had shown such outstanding ability in the running of a department that his promotion to the highest office in the Museum became inevitable; already in 1907 he had been compelled practically to surrender the completion of the third volume of the *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* to a younger colleague, and in 1909, he was appointed Director; this volume of the catalogue was therefore his last work on papyrology till his retirement.

Kenyon had at the same time a share in many other undertakings

in the Museum as well as many interests, both practical and scholarly, outside it; these might have seemed a full enough occupation even for a man of his energy when combined with an exacting official routine, and they cannot be described here except in so far as they have a bearing on his Biblical studies. So another considerable task was his share in the preparation of the great catalogue of the Royal manuscripts, planned and begun in 1894 and brought to a successful conclusion in 1921; in this his work was done mostly in the early parts, comprising Bibles and Biblical commentaries, for which he described some 360 manuscripts. His interest in this particular field of study led to his being charged to prepare the volume entitled *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1900) and the manuscript portion of the *Guide to the Manuscripts and Printed Books exhibited in celebration of the Tercentenary of the Authorized Version* (1911).

The record of scholarly publication during these years was amazing; but it was not everything. Kenyon never forgot that the purpose of the Museum was not to be merely a stronghold of private research but that it had also another and equally important function as a national centre of education and culture. He might indeed be quite unfairly described as 'a bit of a journalist'; but, if he was such, it was only in the highest sense, and that as a means to an end. His works of popularization were on the same level as those of advanced research; but they were set out in a form to attract and hold the attention of a different class, that of the educated and intelligent layman. The best known of his works in this category is undoubtedly *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, which was commissioned by the publishers to meet the growing demand for an authoritative account of the subject; it first appeared in 1895 and went through four editions during the author's lifetime. As he himself admitted, much of the work in this book could not be and was not original; and his own knowledge was comparatively limited at the time (for he was only thirty-two years old when it came out). None the less, it was widely appreciated and was immediately followed by a request from another publisher for a similar work on the New Testament; this new work came out under the title of the *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* in 1901 and also went into more than one edition. Both these works, he said in a brief autobiographical note, were written during his evenings at home while his wife was practising her singing in the same room.

Kenyon's retirement from the post of Director of the Museum

in 1930 released him from a weight of official duties and allowed him to devote himself with renewed energy to the work of scholarship. Although, however, he had officially retired, he was able to play a prominent part, to which his pre-eminent position in the learned world entitled him, in the negotiations which resulted in the purchase of the Codex Sinaiticus for the nation.

The fortune which had favoured the young scholar so soon after his entering into the Museum treated him with equal favour at his departure from it. Kenyon had in fact not long left it when Mr. Chester Beatty acquired his famous collection of Greek papyri ranging from the second to the fourth century A.D. and forming one of the most important groups of Biblical manuscripts ever acquired by a single person. Being approached as the obvious editor, he accepted the invitation with alacrity and eventually became responsible for the publication of the whole of Mr. Chester Beatty's lot; the series of volumes, which came out in 1933-41, ran to eight volumes of text with the corresponding volumes of plates.

These works of arduous editorial labour did not exhaust Kenyon's energy but were accompanied by a number of popular books, chiefly on Biblical subjects; in fact, these very papyri inspired several of them. Such were *Books and Readers in ancient Greece and Rome* (1st ed., 1932; 2nd ed., 1951), the Schweich Lectures entitled *Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible* (1933) and *The Western Text in the Gospels and Acts* (1938). Mr. Chester Beatty's papyri have thrown doubt on some of the opinions expressed in the last two works; but the subject is developing rapidly under the impact of new discoveries and the problems are so baffling that few if any writers are not at times convicted of error and compelled to change their minds, whether under criticism from others or as a consequence of their own investigations. Kenyon was fully aware of this and never shrank from abandoning or modifying an opinion in the light of modern knowledge. Other works of the same period were *The Story of the Bible* (1936; five times reprinted), *The Text of the Greek Bible: a student's Handbook* (1937), *The Bible and Archaeology* (1940), *Reading the Bible* (1944; twice reprinted), *The Bible and Modern Scholarship* (1945), in which he combated the late Bishop Barnes's scepticism regarding the historical evidence of the Gospels both vigorously and effectively (although the author's views on the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel would now hardly be generally accepted) and *Literary Criticism, Common Sense, and*

*Modern Scholarship* (1948). All these books, even though the consensus of opinion is not what it was on every point discussed in them, can still be read with pleasure and profit.

Sir Idris H. Bell says of Kenyon in a memoir published by the British Academy that he could not be regarded among the very earliest papyrologists but certainly belonged to the pioneer age when a worker could carry in his head a fairly complete knowledge of all the texts then available, and that he was among the founders of papyrological studies as a separate discipline. He was certainly one of the great editors of documentary no less than of literary texts, both as a decipherer and as an interpreter; for he had great lucidity and clarity of mind which enabled him to grasp the essential points of a document and to assess its significance. This gift, as it appears in the present work, was accompanied by an economy of words which, while bringing out everything that was important, left no space for trivialities or verbosity. His genius was essentially practical. So too "with no touch of mysticism and little taste or aptitude for philosophical speculation", as the same biographer says, "he was yet a man of strong religious convictions and genuine, if unobtrusive, piety", a vein of which runs through all his work.

Those who use the work of such a man may rest assured that it is, so far as humanly possible, accurate and trustworthy; but Kenyon would himself have been the first to admit that mistakes are apt to slip in unawares, that there were parts of the vast field covered by this book in which a papyrologist could not be as securely at home as in the Greek texts of which he had expert knowledge gained at first hand by years of intensive study, and that no book can remain fully up to date. Indeed, Kenyon's own work had done much to render his own book out of date!

The publishers have therefore invited the Rev. A. W. Adams, Fellow and Dean of Divinity of the author's own college, to revise the text by putting right whatever seemed amiss and generally by making it abreast of the most recent advances in knowledge. The reviser, as Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford and one of the editors of the edition of the Old Latin version of the Old Testament which is being prepared under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, is well qualified to carry out this task. It falls into two parts. On the one hand, for example, there were deficiencies in the author's treatment of the secondary ancient (notably the Arabic and Ethiopic) versions of the Scriptures; on the other hand the recent discovery of the now

famous Judæan Scrolls from caves overlooking the Dead Sea bids fair to revolutionize current opinion on the history and form of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. The reviser, while doing all that is necessary, has been careful to make no changes of such a nature that the essential character of the book is altered.

G. R. DRIVER

*Magdalen College,  
Oxford*

## OUR BIBLE AND THE ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS





## CHAPTER I

### ANCIENT BOOKS AND WRITING

#### *The Bible as a Book*

The foundation of all study of the Bible, with which the reader must acquaint himself if his study is to be securely based, is the knowledge of its history as a book. The English reader of the Bible knows that he is reading a translation of books written in other languages many centuries ago. If he wishes to assure himself of the claim which these books have on his consideration, he must know when and in what circumstances they were written, and how they have been handed down through the ages. He needs to be satisfied that he has the text of them substantially in a correct form. He is concerned, therefore, first with their production and transmission in their original languages, Hebrew and Greek, and next with their translation into the languages in which they have been made known to the inhabitants of these islands, which are Latin and English. It is this story which the present volume aims at telling.

#### *Canon and Text*

There are two main divisions of the story. There are first the questions how and when the books under consideration came into existence, and how and when they were marked off as possessing special authority. This is what is known as the history of the Canon (*canon*, a Greek word meaning primarily a rule, and thence, among other things, a list of books designated by order as authoritative). There is therefore a Canon of the Old Testament and a Canon of the New Testament, both of which will have to be briefly described. Next there is the question how these books, thus recognized as authoritative, have been handed down to us. This is known as the history of the Text; and again it is a different story for the Old and the New Testaments respectively. Indeed, there is a marked contrast in respect of both Canon and Text between the two Testaments. In the case of the Old Testament the history of the formation of the Canon is obscure, while the history of the Text is comparatively simple; but in the case of the New Testament the history of the formation of the Canon is in most respects clear, while the history of the Text is involved and often obscure.

*Origin of Writing*

There is, however, a preliminary inquiry which lies behind both the composition of the books and their transmission. This is the history of writing, without which these books could not have come down to us. The fundamental fact in the history of all ancient literature is the fact that before the invention of printing—that is, until about the year 1450—every copy of every book had to be separately written by hand. The whole history of ancient literature, including that of the Bible, is therefore conditioned first by the invention of writing, and next by the materials and forms of books in the various countries in which they were produced and circulated.

It would not be too much to say that our knowledge of ancient methods of writing, the materials used, the literary transmission of texts and their contents, as well as the languages in which the texts were written, has been revolutionized by the archaeological discoveries of the last seventy years and the devoted work of scholars. For example, it was thought at one time that writing was not known in Palestine before the time of the kings. But whatever may be the relation of the earliest portions of the Old Testament to contemporary records (which is not the subject of this book) the following pages clearly show that the art of writing was well known in Palestine and the adjacent countries long before the entry of the Hebrews into the Promised Land.

*Discoveries of Written Documents in Mesopotamia*

In Mesopotamia the excavations of American scholars at Nippur in 1888–1900 brought to light thousands of clay tablets, including many bearing literary and religious texts (among them the Sumerian narrative of the Flood) which extend back to the end of the third millennium B.C. Another collection of tablets was discovered by Sir Leonard Woolley in his excavations at Ur (the city from which, in Hebrew tradition, Abraham set out) of which he has given a popular account in his *Ur of the Chaldees*. But many other finds at different sites have made it possible to trace the history of writing as it developed in Mesopotamia, from the very earliest attempts with signs for denoting ownership, to the elaborate literary, religious and legal texts which have thrown so much light on this cradle of civilization.

Not the least important influence on the development of writing in this area was the principal medium employed—not paper or parchment and pen, but the clay tablet and stylus, which con-

tinued in use as late as the first century B.C. Adjacent countries, where the fine clay necessary was not abundant as in Babylonia, used the tablet if at all for much shorter periods. The usual shape of the tablet was oblong, and after being inscribed it was sundried or, if greater permanence was desired, fire-baked and sometimes even enclosed in a clay 'envelope'. The stylus, cut from a reed, made a wedge-shaped impression which could be elongated and combined in a great variety of ways, as can be seen in Plate I.

As no doubt always was the case, the earliest written signs were pictograms—i.e. simplified representations of common objects, and examples of this kind, such as that found at Kish by the Oxford-Chicago expedition under Langdon (? *c.* 3500 B.C.) and the large collection from the lowest strata at Uruk (*c.* 3300 B.C.) can be given only a very approximate interpretation. But in the tablets from the royal cemetery at Ur (*c.* 2900 B.C.) and from Shuruppak (*c.* 2850 B.C.) the signs are already passing out of the pictographic stage and becoming conventionalized. Eventually the signs lost any real resemblance they once had to real objects and became pure ideograms, often having to do duty for a number of related objects and ideas. Clearly this could lead to a good deal of ambiguity, quite apart from the enormous number of signs which would be required to convey anything but the simplest information, and a very important development was the phonetic use of many signs as syllables, for this purpose dissociated from the original meaning. Thus the sign TI, an arrow, is used to represent the sound *ti* in any word of which it is a component. The first step in this direction can be seen at Jamdat Nasr about 2900 B.C., but its extensive application was due not to the Sumerians (the early non-Semitic inhabitants of Lower Mesopotamia) but to their successors the Babylonians, and is already fully developed in the texts from the latest strata at Uruk (*c.* 2900 B.C.). At the same time the original Sumerian ideograms for many common objects were taken over by the Babylonians, and are also found, for example, in the Hittite tablets written in cuneiform. Thus the cuneiform script combines (*a*) an ideogrammatic basis of more than 500 signs for the more common words which, though written alike, would be read differently according to the language used in the text; and (*b*) a syllabic extension whereby some 300 of these signs represented the various combinations of consonants and vowels, and which could be used to spell out words in Babylonian, Hittite, etc. The next step, namely a further simplification whereby the consonants and vowels are represented singly as in the alphabet, was not

taken in Mesopotamia, but, as we shall see, was the contribution mainly of Canaan. Nevertheless this elaborate and cumbrous system served to convey an extensive literature, of which the best-known examples are the Creation Myth, the Epic of Gilgamesh with its story of the Flood, and the famous Law-Code of Hammurabi, all of which have influenced the Hebrew traditions as we see them in the Old Testament. Moreover, the fact that the medium to which the cuneiform script was adapted, namely the clay tablet, is relatively impervious to the Mesopotamian climate, is the reason that so much has survived.

### *Egypt*

The evidence from the other side of Palestine is equally impressive. From Egypt we have actual manuscripts, written on papyrus, datable to about 2200-2000 B.C., and containing texts which claim to have been written at a much earlier period. Probably the earliest of these are two ethical treatises, the Teaching of Kagemna and the Teaching of Ptah-Hetep, works of gnomic philosophy akin in character to the Proverbs of Solomon, which are attributed to about 3100 B.C. and 2880 B.C. respectively. There are also several copies of the great ritual work, the Book of the Dead, dating from the XVIIIth Dynasty (about 1580-1320 B.C.); while portions of the Book of the Dead existed many centuries earlier.

The art of writing in Egypt, however, as in Mesopotamia, goes back into the fourth millennium B.C., and indeed it is possible that it was from the Sumerians that the Egyptians derived it in the first place. But instead of the clay tablet the principal writing medium was the papyrus sheet or roll (see below, p. 38). In general the development of writing follows the same pattern as in Mesopotamia. The well-known hieroglyphic script is, quite obviously, pictographic, and retained this form much longer than in Babylonia. But, as there, the development of a cursive script led to the conventionalization of the forms, which in time bore as little relation to the original object as the cuneiform sign. As in Mesopotamia also, the difficulty of representing more complicated or abstract concepts led to the use of the signs as homonyms (i.e. doing duty for other words with the same sound but a different meaning), or as syllables and even single consonants. But although a kind of alphabet was devised, it was largely restricted to foreign words, and its main use was to help the reader in deciphering and pronouncing the hieroglyphs and to indicate grammatical inflections.

*Hittite*

In 1906 Hugo Winckler, excavating at Boghazköy in north-east Turkey, discovered a hoard of some 10,000 tablets. These proved to be the royal archives of the long-forgotten Hittite Empire which, at its height in the fourteenth century B.C., reached from Anatolia into Syria and from the Euphrates to the Lebanon. In 1286 B.C. the reviving power of Egypt met the Hittite armies at Kadesh on the Orontes, and the Egyptian account of this battle, and the treaty which was made in 1269, have long been known from the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the temple wall at Karnak. The Hittite version of the treaty, written in Babylonian cuneiform, was discovered amongst the tablets from Boghazköy, from which it is clear that the Egyptian challenge was repulsed. The end of the Hittite Empire was a consequence of the great movement of peoples in the late thirteenth century which brought the Philistines to the west coast of Palestine, but a number of Hittite principalities survived in Syria, until they in turn succumbed to the Assyrian armies about the middle of the ninth century B.C. A number of hieroglyphic inscriptions from this period have long engaged the attention of scholars, and it is these Syrian Hittites who are mentioned in the Old Testament (e.g. Num. xiii. 29-30, 2 Kings vii. 6).

The Boghazköy tablets show that two languages were used for official documents: Babylonian, which was the international language of diplomacy in the Near East; and Hittite, also written in the cuneiform syllabic script (see Plate II (i)). But the Hittite texts contain many Sumerian and Babylonian ideograms, well known from the Mesopotamian tablets, and used by the Hittite scribes as a sort of shorthand. These ideograms helped greatly in the decipherment of the texts and so to our knowledge of the language, which is undoubtedly a branch of the Indo-European family; but in some cases they have also effectively concealed the Hittite word which they represented. Besides official letters, treaties, etc., the tablets include laws, title-deeds, religious and mythological texts (including fragments of the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic in both Hittite and Hurrian versions), magical spells, and so forth, which tell us much of the life and social and religious customs of this energetic people. The Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, found mainly on rock carvings and monuments from Syria after the downfall of the Empire, are pictographic in origin like the hieroglyphs of Egypt (see Plate II (ii)). The discovery of a bilingual Hittite hieroglyphic-Phoenician text of some eighty lines



should provide the key to a full understanding of the signs. They are mostly dedicatory and building inscriptions.

*The Tell el-Amarna Letters*

In the year 1887 an Egyptian woman found, amid the ruins of an ancient city about half-way between Thebes and Memphis, a collection of some 350 clay tablets.<sup>1</sup> The ruins, now well known as Tell el-Amarna, were the capital of Amenhotep IV, or Akhenaten, the husband of Nefertete whose portrait-bust in the Berlin Museum is deservedly famous. This Pharaoh attempted to revolutionize the religion of his country by substituting the worship of the sun-god Aten for that of Amen; but the change was shortlived and was reversed by his successor Tutankhamen, the discovery of whose tomb by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter caused such a popular sensation at the end of 1922. The tablets of Tell el-Amarna raised an equal sensation amongst Oriental scholars, for here, in the middle of Egypt, were documents not written after the manner of the country—i.e. in the Egyptian language and upon papyrus—but on clay and in the cuneiform script of Mesopotamia (see Plate I). Their decipherment, moreover, showed them to be foreign-office archives containing the diplomatic correspondence of Akhenaten and his father extending from about 1370 to 1348 B.C. Besides a letter from the Hittite king Suppiluliuma congratulating Akhenaten on his accession and copies of diplomatic missives to neighbouring rulers, many of the letters are from the petty princelings and vassals of Palestine, written in Babylonian, but with frequent Canaanite glosses inserted by the scribes as aids to interpretation. It is clear that the security of this area, normally under Egyptian suzerainty, was gravely imperilled. Besides references to the movements of Hittite forces there are constant appeals, couched in the most abject terms, for help against the incursions of people called Habiru; and these are probably to be identified with other raiders, concealed by the ideogram SA.GAZ, who were invading from the north. Whether these Habiru were the Israelite tribes under Joshua, or, as others maintain, earlier movements of related tribes making their way into Palestine from the south, is still a matter of debate among scholars, though the tendency is towards the latter view. But there can be no doubt that they were one part of the mixed stock which constituted the Hebrew nation which we know from the Old Testament.

<sup>1</sup>The tablets are now mainly divided between Berlin and the British Museum.

*Crete*

When in 1893 Sir Arthur Evans began his excavations at Knossos in Crete it was in the hope of finding inscriptions which would help in the elucidation of the engraved 'milk stones' which had been discovered at Mycenae and elsewhere in Greece. In the event he uncovered a whole civilization which, in wealth and splendour and duration, surpassed all expectations. At the height of its power in the sixteenth century B.C. the Cretan sea-empire extended over the islands of the eastern Mediterranean and to the mainland of Greece, and its ambassadors are depicted on the Egyptian wall-paintings not as tributaries but as equals. Then, about 1400 B.C., the power of Knossos was broken, probably by the Mycenaeans of Greece, until they too fell before the invaders from the north near the end of the thirteenth century B.C.

Evans found at Knossos not one script but three: the earliest, on engraved seal-stones, is hieroglyphic; second, a cursive form of writing known as 'Linear A'; and third, what appears to be a modification of this, 'Linear B' (see Plate III). Moreover tablets containing the Linear B script have been found at Mycenae and Pylos on the Greek mainland, and this form of writing continued there until their overthrow. But in spite of the efforts of Evans and other scholars, all attempts to decipher them, or even to decide the language in which they were written, were unsuccessful, and no bilingual text such as the Rosetta Stone, which provided the clue to the elucidation of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, has been discovered. This was the situation up to 1953 when an Englishman, Michael Ventris, not an archaeologist by training but an architect, was able to announce that the partial decipherment of the Linear B script had been achieved. It is now clear that the language is an early form of Greek, and the script is a syllabary of some seventy signs together with ideograms representing common objects, as in the Babylonian and Hittite scripts. In another respect the decipherment has been a disappointment. There are no religious, mythological or poetic texts, and apart from what can be gained from the archaeological evidence we are still in the dark about much that must have occupied this highly civilized people.

*The Development of the Alphabet*

So far, as we have seen, the art of writing was practised in the Near East from as far back as the fourth millennium B.C., and developed through pictographs and ideograms to syllabaries in

Mesopotamia, Egypt, Anatolia and Crete. But although in Egypt the scribes, who were not so wedded to the syllabary as the Babylonians, went some way towards the next stage and evolved a pseudo-alphabet, this was used mainly to eke out the traditional script by clarifying the signs and in the spelling out of foreign words. Indeed it has been said that "syllabic writing is a blind alley from which there is no escape".

The tradition in classical times was that the Egyptians invented the letters of the alphabet, which were brought westwards to Europe by the Phoenicians. This, as we shall see, is only very partially true, and the evidence points to Central or South Palestine as the home of the alphabet as we know it, and that it was the outcome of a long process of development and much experimenting.

### *The Phoenician Alphabet*

We may take as our point of departure the inscriptions, all unfortunately damaged or fragmentary, discovered by Sir Flinders Petrie in the winter of 1904-5 in the ruins of a temple at Serabit in the Sinaitic Peninsula. They are probably to be dated c. 1500 B.C. and appear to be the work of Semitic labourers employed by the Egyptians in the turquoise mines in this area. Although many of the signs bear some resemblance to Egyptian hieroglyphs, they are too few in number for a syllabary, and Sir Alan Gardner and others have been able to recognize the words "for Baalat", "beloved of Baalat", and "gift"—clearly references to votive offerings made to the local goddess, who both here and at Byblos was worshipped under the name of Baalat by the Semites and of Hathor by the Egyptians. Other inscribed objects belonging to the same period or perhaps earlier are potsherds from Gezer and Shechem and an inscribed dagger blade from Lachish, all, it should be noted, from Palestine, and all bearing letters of the same type as those from Sinai, but unfortunately too fragmentary to be deciphered. Also from Lachish and dated c. 1250 B.C. are four pieces of pottery, one of which bears a dedicatory inscription to a goddess; while from Gebal (Byblos), on the coast north of Beirut, come a number of inscriptions of various kings who reigned there from the thirteenth to the ninth centuries, including those on the burial-chamber and sarcophagus of Ahiiram (c. 1000-975 B.C.), as well as a piece of pottery bearing the potter's name "Abda" and a bronze spatula with the owner's name "Azerbaal" clearly engraved upon it. All these, exiguous as they are

individually and in detail, taken together show that alphabetic writing, with a recognizable continuity of script, was being practised in and around Palestine at a time when Babylonian cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphs were still in use.

There are, however, two more considerable inscriptions which deserve special mention. The first is the Calendar from Gezer (see Plate IV (i)), the oldest important Israelite document and the earliest completely intelligible text found in Palestinian soil. It contains a list of the chief agricultural operations of the farmer's year arranged in the order of the months, inscribed on limestone. It is assigned to the late tenth century, but may be earlier. The other is the celebrated Moabite Stone, which at the time of its discovery was the earliest-known example of the Phoenician alphabetic script. This stele of black basalt, on which Mesha king of Moab recorded his version of the war against the kings of Israel and Judah (the Hebrew version will be found in 2 Kings iii. 4-27) was written about 850 B.C., and is the only surviving record of the Moabite kingdom. The text in its present condition consists of thirty-four lines, the last seven of which are damaged, and the end is lost. It was found by a German missionary in the possession of some Arabs in 1868. It was then perfect, but before it was acquired for the Louvre the Arabs had broken it up, and large portions of it have never been recovered. Fortunately a paper squeeze had been taken of it before it was broken, and from this the text can be restored. The script is remarkably developed, and already shows a tendency towards a cursive form, while the words are divided by points and the clauses by strokes. It also shows that the Moabite language at this period was almost identical with Hebrew.

Other inscriptions which bring us into close contact with Old Testament history are seventy-five potsherds excavated from the floor of Ahab's palace, dealing with supplies of oil and wine and giving the names of the persons concerned and the year of the king: these probably belong to the reign of Jeroboam II (c. 774-760 B.C.), and are written in Biblical Hebrew and in a well-formed cursive hand. There is also the Siloam inscription elegantly carved on the tunnel connecting the Virgin's Spring with the Pool of Siloam in Jerusalem, which comes from the reign of Hezekiah (c. 700 B.C.—see 2 Kings xx. 20) and describes the successful junction made by the workmen cutting through the rock from opposite ends “. . . and on the day of the boring through the miners struck, each to meet his fellow, pick upon pick, and the waters flowed from the source to the pool. . . .” (See Plate IV (ii).)

Lastly come the collection of Lachish Letters, some twenty in number, which were discovered in 1935 and 1938 by the Wellcome-Marston expedition, under the direction of J. L. Starkey until his murder in the latter year by Arabs. These letters, written in ink on potsherds, consist for the most part of the correspondence between the military governor of Lachish and the officer of a Hebrew outpost at the time when the Babylonian armies were overrunning the country prior to the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Their boldly formed cursive script is, apart from the ravages of time and accident, still clearly legible, and their importance from the linguistic as well as the historical point of view is equally remarkable, since they are written in excellent Biblical Hebrew which has close affinities with the style of Jeremiah. (See Plate V (i).)

It is thus possible to trace the history of the Phoenician—also known as the Canaanite or Old Semitic—alphabet from about the middle of the second millennium B.C. in the countries between the Nile and the Euphrates. The evidence points to Egypt rather than Mesopotamia as having furnished the idea or model of an alphabet, and there are those who would give pride of place to the Sinaitic inscriptions as a sort of ‘missing link’ between Egyptian hieroglyphs and the Phoenician alphabet. But if, as is quite possible, the earliest of the Phoenician inscriptions are to be dated before those from Sinai, then these latter are rather one link in a complex chain of development, much of which is still unknown. Certainly the alphabet is a Semitic invention, and its exploitation and perfecting belong to the Phoenicians of the coast, who in the course of their commercial activities carried it to Greece. There it was adapted to the Greek tongue—e.g. the unnecessary consonantal signs were used for the vowels (which were not expressed in the Semitic scripts), and thence it passed to the West. Thus it is that our word ‘alphabet’ is composed of the names of the first letters of the Semitic script, *aleph*, *beth*, while the names of most of the letters of the Greek alphabet show clearly their Semitic origin.

But of more particular relevance for us is that the Phoenician or Old Semitic script was that in which the Old Testament was first and continued to be written, until superseded by the ‘square’ or ‘Assyrian’ script in or about the second century B.C. It is still used, though in a late form, by the Samaritans in their sacred books.

The Phoenician alphabet, however, was not the only successful experiment in this manner of writing. The next section will show that Semitic inventiveness was capable also of adapting the ancient Babylonian script to alphabetic use.

*The Ras Shamra Tablets*

Very remarkable for their bearing both on the history of writing in Syria and on the intellectual and religious background of the Hebrews are the results of excavations at Ras Shamra, a site on the coast of north-west Syria not far from Alexandretta and opposite Cyprus. Here a chance discovery in 1929 led to excavations so fruitful that they have been carried on continuously, except for the interval of the Second World War, by M. Claude Schaeffer and his colleagues. The site was identified as that of the Phoenician city of Ugarit (known from the Amarna tablets), already an important mercantile town at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., which rapidly became a gateway of commerce between Asia and the Mediterranean lands. This is shown not only by the size and obvious prosperity of the population, as may be inferred from their well-appointed homes, temples, golden ornaments, etc., but also from the large number of objects of Minoan, Cypriot, Egyptian, Syrian and Hittite origin or influence. About the middle of the fourteenth century B.C. the town and its port were severely damaged by an earthquake, and were finally destroyed by the invasions of the northern sea-rovers at the beginning of the twelfth century. Among the ruins was found a building which had apparently been a library, containing quantities of clay tablets bearing cuneiform writing (see Plate VI). These texts have been investigated by a number of scholars (Schaeffer, Virolleaud, Dhorme and others) and have proved to be of the very greatest importance both in themselves and for their bearing on the ancient Hebrew records and religion. The results may briefly be summarized as follows.

The library at Ras Shamra seems to have been, if not founded, at least considerably developed about the middle of the second millennium B.C. by a king of Ugarit named Nigmed, whose name appears on several tablets and who was probably of Mitannian or Hurrian origin. It was housed in a building between the two great temples of Baal and Dagon, and contained also a high-priest's dwelling and a writing school for the training of scribes. The language of most of the texts is Semitic, and has been described as proto-Phoenician or proto-Hebrew. Many of the texts are non-literary, and several of them were dictionaries and lexicons, including Sumerian-Babylonian and Hurrian (Horite) vocabularies—Sumerian, though already a dead language, being still used by scholars, while Babylonian was the language of diplomacy (as in the Amarna letters) and of commerce, as can be seen from the

business letters of the chief Ugarit merchants. In addition inscriptions in Egyptian hieroglyphs, Hittite and Cypriot have been found, showing that Ugarit was a place where many languages met and were in use. Besides commercial there are medical, legal, diplomatic and private documents.

By far the greater part of the library at Ugarit consisted of religious writings, and it is these that are of the greatest interest for our present purpose. It is quite clear that the rites and beliefs of the cult at Ugarit were very similar to those of the Canaanite population of Palestine with whom the Hebrews coalesced and whose religion was assimilated to the worship of Jahweh of Israel. The supreme god at Ugarit was El, one of the Old Testament names for Jahweh, who rules over the other gods. His symbol is the bull, like the golden 'calf' which Aaron made in the desert (Exod. xxxii. 4) and the two which Jeroboam set up at Dan and Bethel for the rebellious ten tribes (1 Kings xii. 28ff.). El's consort is Asherat the sea-goddess, whose name occurs repeatedly in the Old Testament as Ashteroth; she is Ishtar of the Babylonians and of the Moabite Stone, and Astarte-Aphrodite of the Greeks. Reference is also made to a great serpent with seven heads, who is fought and slain by Baal, and whose name Lotan is a form of the Biblical Leviathan, the monster of the deep (Job xli. 1, Psalm lxxiv. 14, etc.). The struggles between the gods, their downfalls and uprisings, form a large part of this literature, as in Mesopotamia and Egypt, in singular contrast to the ethical monotheism which, in process of time, we see emerging and reaching full development among the Hebrews. Altogether, no more remarkable discovery, for the light which it throws on the religion of the Canaanite peoples before the entry of the Hebrew tribes, has ever been made.

No less remarkable, however, is the fact that these tablets are written in an alphabetic script of twenty-nine or thirty letters. In so far as it makes use of the clay tablet and stylus, and is written from left to right, the affinities of the script are with Mesopotamia, as those of the Phoenician script seem to be with Egypt. But there is little evidence to show that the Ugaritic alphabet is an adaptation of Babylonian signs as such. Rather the inventor—the word is used deliberately—was in all probability already aware of the Phoenician or a similar alphabetic system, and simply selected from the various possible combinations of wedge-impressions to represent the various consonantal sounds. The one innovation is that there are three signs for *aleph* to indicate the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* with it. That

the Ugaritic script may have had some vogue is suggested by the fact that two short inscriptions have been found in Palestine from Beth-Shemesh and the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor. But it was too late in the field to oust the Phoenician script, which was already established, and admirable though the clay tablet is from the archaeological point of view, for the user it was not so convenient as papyrus, with which the future lay. (See Plate VI.)

### *The Dead Sea Scrolls*

It is no exaggeration to say that the scrolls from the Dead Sea caves are the biggest discovery yet made in what may be called the archaeology of the Hebrew Bible. The sensation which accompanied their disclosure was due not least to the fact that it had been assumed by archaeologists and Biblical scholars that a find of such importance could not be expected, least of all in Palestine, where climate and history alike have been unfavourable to documentary survival. Thus in previous editions of this book it had been said: "There is indeed no possibility that we shall ever find manuscripts of the Hebrew text going back to a period before the formation of the text which we call Massoretic"—i.e. before the second century A.D. The announcement, therefore, that Biblical and other Hebrew manuscripts had been found dating from the beginning of the Christian era or, as was claimed, as much as two centuries earlier, was bound to excite wide attention. Very soon a flood of books and articles was let loose which still shows no sign of subsiding, and in the early stages some of them were extremely speculative and based on an inadequate knowledge and assessment of the texts. This has been especially so with regard to the origins, affiliations, and doctrines of the community or sect which owned the scrolls, about which opinion is still by no means agreed. Similar exaggerated claims were made, on the basis of the first of the scrolls to be published, for the Biblical text used by the community, which was thought to confirm in almost every particular the traditional text which is printed in our Hebrew Bible. Further discoveries have considerably modified these claims, and, as we shall see, the work of some recent scholars in this field has been shown to be not far wide of the mark.

The site of these discoveries is the north-west corner of the Dead Sea, about eight miles south of Jericho and a mile from the ruins of Khirbet Qumran. The story of how in February or March 1947 an Arab shepherd boy, in search of a lost goat, stumbled on the first cave has often been told. Inside the cave he found a



number of jars containing leather rolls wrapped in linen cloths, and fragments of other jars. The rolls, which he carried off, came into the hands of a Syrian Orthodox dealer in Bethlehem, and were disposed of by him and his intermediaries, some to the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch in Jerusalem, others to Prof. E. L. Sukenik of the Hebrew University.

The full story of all the transactions concerning the scrolls, bedevilled by suspicion and cupidity and further complicated by the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli War at the end of 1947, cannot be told here. It may suffice to say that the scrolls in the possession of the Syrian Archbishop were subsequently taken to America, where they were eventually sold to a private purchaser on behalf of the Israeli Government in 1955. These consisted of (1) the first Isaiah Scroll, practically complete, known as 'Isaiah A' (see Plate VII); (2) the Manual of Discipline in two parts; (3) the Habakkuk Commentary; (4) an Aramaic work, very much decomposed, at first said to be the lost Book of Lamech, but which is now known to be a pseudepigraphical work on Genesis. All have now been photographed and published. The scrolls bought by Prof. Sukenik have also been published with an introduction in Hebrew and in English. They are: (1) a second incomplete Isaiah, known as 'Isaiah B'; (2) *The War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness*, an eschatological work; (3) Thanksgiving Psalms, of which about twenty survive. In addition a number of fragments which also came into the possession of Prof. Sukenik and the Archbishop, presumably as a result of visits to the cave by the latter and the Bedouins, include portions of two manuscripts of Daniel, the first (iii. 23-30) from the Aramaic part of the book, the other (i. 10-17 and ii. 2-6) showing the same transition from Hebrew to Aramaic as in the canonical text. It was not until February 1949 that the cave could be visited by European archaeologists, and by this time the depredations of the Bedouin, in their search for further profitable items, had made any strictly scientific examination impossible. However, it was possible to ascertain that the cave had contained forty to fifty jars, and pottery fragments which were subsequently dated in the Roman period were found in the debris, together with fragments of about twenty different manuscripts, some of them affording examples of the old Phoenician script, as in Plate V (ii).

Attention was next turned to the ruins of Khirbet Qumran, lying about half a mile away from the cave to the south between the sea and the cliffs, which were excavated by G. Lancaster

Harding and Fr. de Vaux at the end of 1951 and again in the spring of 1953. These appeared to be a kind of monastery, built during or soon after the reign of John Hyrcanus (135-104 B.C.). The buildings had originally been of two storeys, with a tower, large meeting-rooms, a basement for storage purposes, and also extensive water-cisterns. One room, in view of the remains of tables and benches, a desk top, together with ink-pots, had probably been a scriptorium, and the discovery of a jar of identical type with those found in the cave, as well as a pottery kiln, proved the connexion of the monastery with the cave. Using the evidence of some 250 coins found on the site it is possible to reconstruct its history, which falls into three periods. The first runs from during or soon after John Hyrcanus (135-104 B.C.) to the time of Herod the Great, when the monastery was severely damaged by an earthquake—probably that referred to by Josephus as occurring in the seventh year of Herod (31 B.C.). The second period of occupation runs from the time of Archelaus (4 B.C.-A.D. 6) when the monastery was rebuilt until the last years of the Jewish Revolt, when it was destroyed by the Roman legions in A.D. 68 or 69. It is presumed that immediately before this the scrolls were deposited in the cave for safety and the monastery abandoned. Afterwards the site was occupied by Roman troops, and later still by Jewish rebels during the Second Revolt which led to the final destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 135.

Meanwhile in the autumn of 1951 the Bedouin had brought in further manuscript fragments which led to the discovery of four caves in the Wady Murabba'at, about ten miles south of Cave I. These produced a palimpsest written in the Phoenician script, Biblical fragments including a scroll of the Minor Prophets, phylacteries, and parts of two letters emanating from Bar Kochba, the leader of the Second Revolt, showing that the caves had been used as a Jewish outpost about A.D. 135.

In the spring of 1952 the whole Qumran area was surveyed by Fr. de Vaux and Prof. W. L. Reed, and no less than thirty-seven caves were found which showed signs of occupation. Of these twenty-five had pottery remains which linked them with Cave I and the monastery, and were most numerous near the mouth of the Wady. It seems likely that the caves were used for storage purposes by members of the community encamped in the area. No more complete scrolls came to light, but from one cave came the now famous copper scroll, and from others thousands of manuscript fragments which represent about a hundred different

Biblical manuscripts. The piecing together and deciphering of these will engage scholars for a good many years.

Mention may also be made of another find in the Dead Sea area made in 1952 by the Bedouin, though the exact whereabouts are unknown. It consists of a number of miscellaneous business documents and marriage contracts, together with a fragmentary scroll of the Minor Prophets. The language of this scroll, however, is not Hebrew but Greek, and the text shows some remarkable differences from the Septuagint which will be discussed in Chapter V.

### *The Qumran Sect*

With the origins and characteristic doctrines of the Qumran community we need not concern ourselves here. At present the opinion of a number of scholars is that the sect was related to, if not identical with, the Essenes, of whom we already knew something from Josephus (according to his own account a member of the Essene community in his younger days), as well as from the Jewish philosopher and apologist Philo. Pliny the Elder, the Roman natural historian who died viewing the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, tells us that the Essenes had a settlement on the west side of the Dead Sea "above En Geddi" (about twenty miles south of Qumran). But it should be noticed that opinion on this is by no means unanimous, and the description of the Essenes in ancient writers does not always tally with what is to be learnt from the Qumran documents.

### *The Dead Sea Biblical Scrolls*

In the Manual of Discipline of the community it is laid down:

And from the place where the ten are (i.e. one of the groups into which the community was divided) there shall never be absent a man who searches the Law day and night by turns, one after another. And the masters (i.e. full members) shall keep watch together a third of all the nights of the year, reading the book and searching for justice and worshipping together.

From this it is clear that 'Bible study', especially of the Law (the Pentateuch) was an important part of the daily life of the community, and helps to account for the fact that scrolls or fragments of something like a hundred Biblical MSS., apart from other works, were found in the caves, and that many of the individual

books exist in more than one copy. Moreover these are only those that have survived, and represent only a part, perhaps only a small part, of the communal library of the sect. We need not be surprised, therefore, that a scriptorium to provide and renew copies of the sacred Scriptures was found at Khirbet Qumran. And this raises another point. The texts which were copied in the scriptorium must have come, in the first place, from outside the sect—brought, in some instances at any rate, by members as their personal property when they were admitted. If, as we shall see, there is reason to believe that at this time the text of the Hebrew Bible was not yet fixed or confined to one main tradition, it will not be surprising if there are found varieties of text which differ quite considerably from each other and from the Hebrew text of later times, when a large degree of standardization had been attained. The point is important, because when the discoveries of Cave I were first announced and it became known that the text of the Isaiah B Scroll was virtually identical with the later standard Hebrew text, and the Isaiah A Scroll substantially so, it was assumed that the Qumran discoveries confirmed both the antiquity and the uniformity of the standard text. But it is a well-known principle of textual criticism that it is never safe, nor indeed allowable, to argue from the text of one book to that of others. Thus even if, in the case of Isaiah, the community's text was close to that of the later standard text, it does not follow that it would be so in the rest of the Old Testament. And since, in the nature of the case, the community must at the outset have drawn on many sources for its copies of the Old Testament books, we must be prepared for considerable varieties in the texts. And this indeed is what we find, and will concern us later.

### *The Age of the Scrolls*

As has been noted, the archaeological evidence suggests that the community abandoned the Qumran site, having placed its MSS. for safety in jars in the near-by caves, not long before the final suppression of the Jewish Revolt in A.D. 73. If so, this provides the latest date for any of the scrolls. At the other end, scrolls may have been copied at any time in the community's existence during the previous 200 years or more, though in its early days, when presumably the numbers of the sect were small, there may have been no need for copying. In any case, as has been said above, the original copies of the Biblical text must have come from

outside, and may well have been of varying quality and age of text. It is quite possible that a copy made late in the history of the community was from an old and relatively uncorrupted exemplar, but on the other hand it might be the last of a long series of copies and thus have been subjected to all the possible kinds of corruption of which human fallibility is capable.

Palaeography (i.e. the comparative study of scripts), which for late periods can be of great help in dating a manuscript, is handicapped by the fact that, apart from the Nash Papyrus (which is variously dated by scholars from the middle of the second century B.C. to the end of the first century A.D.) there is nothing from this period and area with which to compare the Dead Sea texts. Thus although it is possible, within limits, to date these scrolls in relation to each other, a wider reference is virtually ruled out. The same holds true for the fragments of Leviticus in the old Phoenician script. Apart from inscriptions on stone or pottery, and the Samaritan Pentateuch, which uses a degenerate form of this script, there are no known manuscripts, on leather or papyrus. On the other hand, the script is used on coins as late as the Second Revolt, c. A.D. 135. As with the coins, therefore, the Phoenician script may have been used as a piece of deliberate archaizing, or it may represent a manuscript actually coming from the period when the script was in current use.

### *The Importance of the Qumran Discoveries*

The bearing of the scrolls and fragments on the history of the Hebrew text will be discussed later in the appropriate place (see pp. 79 ff.). In this respect they are of the very greatest importance, and enable us, as has been said, to "penetrate the Massoretic barrier" by centuries. But apart from that these unexpected finds show us what ancient Hebrew scrolls looked like, the form of the script, the conventions of scribes, and the pronunciation of the Hebrew language around the beginning of the Christian era. Previously much of this had been a matter of conjecture. It is now possible to fill in many gaps, and also to hope that further discoveries of the same kind will be made where previously they had been unlooked for.

### *Forms of Books*

We have now seen that, when the Hebrews left the land of Egypt, they left a land in which writing had been practised for

hundreds of years; and when they entered Canaan under Joshua, they came to a land already possessing a literature and an alphabetic writing, available alike for secular and religious purposes. This has an intimate bearing on the origin and credibility of the books of the Old Testament; and the recent discoveries bearing on it have therefore been mentioned in some detail. It remains to examine the external form of the books which were used by the authors of the writings of the Old and the New Testaments, and by the scribes who handed them down from their origin to the invention of printing.

Many materials have been used by men in different parts of the world to receive writing—stone, leaves, bark, wood, metals, linen, baked clay, potsherds—but for the main transmission of the Scriptures three only are of prime importance—namely, skins, papyrus and vellum. Of these, and especially of the last two, something must be said.

### *Leather*

With regard to leather, we know that prepared skins were used as writing material from a very early date. In Egypt there are references to documents written on skins in the time of the IVth Dynasty (c. 2900–2750 B.C.) and actual specimens are extant from the XIIth Dynasty (c. 2000–1788 B.C.). Ctesias, the Greek historian, refers to royal chronicles being written on leather by the ancient Persians, but does not specify their precise dates. They may include those to which reference is made in Ezra vi. 1, 2 and Esther vi. 1. Herodotus records that once, when papyrus was scarce, the Ionian Greeks used sheepskins and goatskins in its place; and he adds that many of the “barbarians” still did so in his day. From the eighth century B.C. onwards the ‘writer on skin’ is mentioned in Assyrian records, and also in the cuneiform texts of the Seleucid age (311–95 B.C.).

More important for our present purpose is the traditional use of leather for the books of the Law in Hebrew. In the Talmud it is laid down that all copies of the Law used in public worship must be written on skins of clean animals and in roll-form. This rule still continues in force, and many examples of such leather rolls are in existence, the earliest being those from the Dead Sea, which are made from the skins of lambs and young goats. A specimen is seen in Plate VII.

The Talmud regulation no doubt represents a long-standing tradition, and it is therefore probable that the ‘rolls’ from time to

time referred to in the Bible were written on this material. In Ps. xl. 7 and Ezek. ii. 9 there is no decisive indication of material; but in Jer. xxxvi. 23, where it is said that Jehoiakim used the scribe's scraping-knife to cut to pieces the roll of Jeremiah's prophecies, the use of such an instrument seems to show that the roll was of tougher material than papyrus. A knife was, in fact, part of the equipment of a scribe writing on leather or vellum, for the purpose of erasures, as we know from medieval pictures. Jer. xxxvi. also mentions, besides the ink (verse 18) and the penknife or scraping-knife (verse 23) that the scroll was written in columns (verse 23 R.V. margin). Further, it is recorded that the copies of the Law which were sent from Palestine to Egypt in the third century B.C., for the purpose of the making of the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, were on skins. At what time papyrus came into general use in Palestine cannot be ascertained. What is certain is that for formal copies, intended for use in the synagogues, leather was the regular material, and it may be presumed that this goes back at least to the period of the prophets.

### *Papyrus*

Far more widespread was the use of papyrus. The home of this material is Egypt. It was manufactured from the pith of the papyrus plant, which then grew plentifully in the Nile. The pith was cut into thin strips, which were laid down in two layers at right angles to one another, so that the fibres lay horizontally on one side and vertically on the other. The two layers were fastened together by pressure and glue, and in this way sheets were formed, which were then fastened together side by side, so as to form a roll. The height of the roll is limited by the length of the strips of pith; specimens exist which are as high as 15 inches, but about 10 inches is more usual for works of literature. The length could vary according to taste and convenience; several Egyptian liturgical rolls exist of 50 feet and over, and one is known of 133 feet; but such rolls were too cumbersome for ordinary reading, and Greek literary rolls seldom, if ever, exceed 35 feet—a length which is sufficient for a single book of Thucydides or one of the longer Gospels, but not for more. A sample may be seen in Plate VIII, which contains some columns of an oration (otherwise unknown) by Hyperides, from a papyrus of the later part of the first century in the British Museum.

Papyrus was used in Egypt as far back as the third millennium

if not earlier. How early it was in use in Greece we cannot say. But it is interesting that the ancient Phoenician town of Gebal, on the coast a little to the north of Beirut, was called Byblos by the Greeks because it was the port through which papyrus (*byblos*)<sup>1</sup> was imported from Egypt, and we know from the Egyptian story of Wenamon that papyrus was to be had in Gebal about 1100 B.C. The evidence of Herodotus, quoted above, shows that by the middle of the fifth century B.C. it was so well established that he cannot conceive a civilized people using anything else. We may therefore take it that at least from the sixth century onwards (and possibly much earlier) the papyrus roll was the regular material for book production in the Greek world. When, therefore, in the course of the third century B.C., a demand arose among the Jews settled in Egypt after its conquest by Alexander for a translation of their Scriptures into Greek, it was on papyrus rolls that the translation was produced; and when the books of the New Testament were written, in the first century after Christ, papyrus must again have been the material. For our present purpose, therefore, papyrus is the material of first importance.

Papyrus had many merits as a writing material, and for the best part of a thousand years, at least, it met the requirements of the Greek and Roman worlds. But from our point of view it lacked one very important quality, that of durability. Originally a material of about the same consistency as paper, it is destroyed by damp and, if kept dry, becomes very brittle with age. There is only one country where the soil is so dry that papyrus manuscripts buried in it have a chance of survival, and that is Egypt.<sup>2</sup> It is only comparatively recently, however, that this fact was discovered, and until then it could be said, with almost complete accuracy, that all manuscripts on papyrus had perished, and that works written in Greek or Latin could only have come down to us from the time when papyrus was superseded by the far more durable material known as vellum. All copies, whether of the Scriptures or of works of classical literature, earlier than the first half of the fourth century after Christ were assumed to have perished. It is only within the last seventy or eighty years that a flood of new light has come to us from Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> The correct Greek word for papyrus, which is an Egyptian loan-word, is *byblos* or *biblos*, from which *biblion* (book) and (through its plural *biblia*) Bible are derived.

<sup>2</sup> A very few sporadic discoveries of papyrus manuscripts have been made elsewhere, in southern Palestine and at Dura, on the Euphrates, where the climatic conditions are similar.



*Discoveries of Papyri in Egypt*

The first discovery of papyri in Egypt was made in 1778,<sup>1</sup> when some natives in the province of the Fayum discovered a jar containing a little hoard of forty or fifty rolls. They could, however, find no market for them, and destroyed all except one, which was taken by a dealer as a curiosity. This turned out to be merely a list of labourers employed on irrigation works in A.D. 191, and was published in 1788. During the next hundred years a few score of papyrus documents turned up, including a few of literary character: two or three portions of Homer, and (more important because new) portions of four lost speeches of Hyperides, the contemporary and rival of Demosthenes, and an ode by Alcman. The first discovery on a large scale was made in the Fayum in 1877, when a great mass of papyri was brought to light by natives, and was for the most part acquired by the Archduke Rainer of Austria for his library in Vienna. These, however, were mostly of late date and of non-literary character, and it was not until 1891 that the great era of papyrus discoveries began. In that year a number of fragments of papyrus, extracted by Prof. Flinders Petrie from the cartonnage wrappings of mummies, were found to include a few portions of Plato and of a lost play of Euripides, with a number of non-literary documents, all of the third century B.C.; while a batch of rolls acquired by Dr. E. Wallis Budge for the British Museum proved to include the lost treatise by Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens, the lost poems of Herodas, a portion of a speech by Hyperides, and an unknown medical treatise, besides known works of Homer, Demosthenes and Isocrates. This fairly aroused public interest, and search in Egypt was actively pursued, with the result that now many thousands of papyrus documents are to be found in the great libraries of Europe and America, and among them several hundreds of literary texts, large and small, known and unknown.

*Biblical Papyri*

For a long time, however, very few of these papyri contained any portion of the Scriptures. When the first edition of the present work was published there was just one known, thirty-two leaves of a late (seventh century) papyrus book, said to have been found among the rubbish of an ancient convent at Thebes. Since then

<sup>1</sup> Some charred rolls of papyrus were found at Herculaneum in 1752, which had been buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, but it was not until their publication began in 1793 that it was known that they contained portions of the works of Epicurus and other philosophers.

many more have from time to time come to light, culminating (for the present) in the discovery, quite recently, of considerable portions of manuscripts far earlier than any hitherto known. These will be described in their proper place in subsequent chapters. For the subject of our present chapter all that is relevant is to state that the discoveries of recent years, besides adding an earlier section to the record of the transmission of the Bible text, have also revealed a new feature in the history of the use of papyrus.

### *The Papyrus Codex*

At one time it was supposed that the roll form of book continued in use up to the time of the supersession of papyrus by vellum in the fourth century. It is now clear that this is not the case either for pagan or Christian literature, and that certainly from the second century and probably as early as the first the Christian community was using the material in a different way—that, namely, which is known as the *codex*-form. This is in fact our modern form of book with leaves arranged in quires or gatherings. In the simplest form of quire a single sheet of papyrus is folded down the middle, so producing two leaves of four pages, and a codex could be formed of a number of such quires sewn together. Or a number of such sheets, calculated to be sufficient for the whole of the text to be written, would be laid one on top of another and the whole folded so as to produce a codex consisting of a single enormous quire. Examples are extant composed of as many as fifty-nine such sheets, or 118 leaves. This make-up must have been very inconvenient, and ultimately it was found that quires of about ten or twelve leaves was the more convenient form. Bible codices of all these types are known, and will be described in Chapters V and VII below (see Plates XV, XX, XXI).

The ancestor of the papyrus codex was the writing tablet of two or more leaves, made of wood or ivory and held together by cords or clasps. These had long been known in the ancient world and were commonly used for letters, memoranda, accounts, school exercises, and anything of an ephemeral nature. An improvement was made by the Romans sometime before the end of the first century B.C. by substituting parchment for wood, and these parchment codices were used for notebooks, and it may well be to such *membranai* (as they were called) that St. Paul refers in 2 Tim. iv. 13 when he asks Timothy to bring with him “the books, *especially the parchments*”. But the convenience of the codex-form seems to have encouraged only one attempt at publishing—that of the

revised edition of Books I and II of Martial's Epigrams towards the end of the first century A.D. It seems to have been a failure, and polite literature continued to appear on rolls during the first two centuries of the Roman Empire.

In Egypt, on the other hand, the evidence points clearly to the papyrus codex as the prevailing form for the Christian Scriptures from a very early date, while for pagan literature, as indeed for other forms of Christian writing, the roll was only slowly ousted. Figures drawn up by C. H. Roberts<sup>1</sup> show that, for pagan literature, the papyrus codex accounts for only two to three per cent of second-century fragments, rising to nearly seventeen per cent in the third century, forty-eight per cent on the border-line of the third and fourth, and seventy-four per cent in the fourth century. In the case of Biblical fragments ten belong to the second century or beginning of the third, and all were written on codices, while of the total of 111 Biblical texts surviving from the second to the fourth centuries only twelve are from rolls, of which three and possibly six are Jewish, and five are episthographs—i.e. the Biblical text is written on the backs of rolls already used for another purpose. Thus, as Roberts concludes "when the Christian Bible (to use a slightly anachronistic term) first makes its appearance in history, the books of which it is composed are always written on papyrus and always in codex form . . . and the contrast is even more remarkable when we recall that the country where early texts were found was where the roll originated, and in which parchment (with which the codex began) was scarce".

The link between the parchment codex notebook of Rome and the papyrus codex of Egypt can only be surmised. That there was a close connexion between Egypt and especially Alexandria and Rome is well known—Egypt was the granary of the Empire, and it was in an Alexandrian grain ship that St. Paul was shipwrecked off Malta, and in another completed his journey to the capital (Acts xxvii. 6, 38; xxviii. 11). There was also an intimate relation between Roman and Egyptian Christianity at this period. But Roberts would take a further step. He suggests that St. Mark, the Gospel of the Roman Church and the earliest to be written, circulated not as a papyrus roll—Roman Christians at this time did not belong to the literary class and had no particular reason to follow the conventions of the book trade—but in a form which would be familiar from its everyday associations, that is as a codex. As such it would be more convenient for carrying about, for

<sup>1</sup> "The Codex", in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xl, pp. 169-204.

reference, and if need be for concealment. Now whatever may lie behind the tradition that the Church of Alexandria was founded by St. Mark, at some point his Gospel reached Egypt, was copied there on papyrus, and, it is suggested, in its original codex format also. Moreover, such was its authority that the codex-form rapidly became the norm for all copies of Sacred Scripture in Egypt. This, in the briefest outline, is the theory, which certainly accounts for the facts as they are known at present.

Besides the advantages of the codex noted above there was also the further advantage that a much greater amount of matter could be included than was possible in a roll of normal length, which was about thirty feet. We now have, as will be told in greater detail below, substantial portions of a codex containing the four Gospels and Acts written in the first half of the third century, another of the Pauline Epistles of about A.D. 200, fifty leaves of an original codex of 108 leaves containing Numbers and Deuteronomy of the early second century, a tiny scrap of St. John of the same date, together with fragments of Genesis, Deuteronomy, Psalms, Matthew and Titus also of the second century. There is even a fragment of Deuteronomy from a roll of the second century before Christ. A considerable gap in the history of the transmission of the Bible text has thus been filled by the discoveries of recent years.

### *Vellum*

Until the discovery of papyri in Egypt, it was supposed that no actual copies of the Scriptures had survived previous to the date when vellum came into use as the predominant material for book production. Vellum (or parchment) is a material prepared from the skins of cattle, sheep, goats or occasionally deer, and preferably from the young of these animals, and forms an exceedingly durable and handsome receptacle for writing. It is, in fact, a development and improvement of the use of skins. According to Pliny, quoting the earlier Roman writer Varro (first century B.C.), it was invented by Eumenes of Pergamum, at a time when Ptolemy of Egypt, jealous of a rival book-collector, laid an embargo on the export of papyrus. This implies a date between 197 and 182 B.C., and probably does not mean that vellum had never been heard of before this date, but that it then temporarily came to the front as a material of book production. In point of fact, some documents on vellum were found in 1923 among the ruins of the Roman fortress of Dura on the Euphrates, which bear dates

equivalent to 196-5 and 190-89 B.C., showing that the material was then already in use at a place far distant from Pergamum. Apart, however, from the temporary needs of the Pergamum library, the use of vellum seems at first to have been in the form of notebooks, in which it was an improvement on the wax-tablet (see above p. 41). Gradually it appears to have come into use for books, but from the point of view of the book trade it remained an inferior article to papyrus for works of literature throughout the first three centuries of the Christian era.

Exactly how the change came about is not clear, but it is certain that in the course of the first half of the fourth century vellum definitely superseded papyrus as the material in use for the best books; and since this was also the time when the Emperor Constantine the Great adopted Christianity as the official religion of the Eastern Empire, the change had a decisive influence on the tradition of the Bible text. Eusebius records that when Constantine ordered fifty copies of the Scriptures for the churches in his new capital, Constantinople, they were to be on vellum; and a little later (about A.D. 350) we learn from Jerome that the papyrus volumes in the library at Cæsarea, which had become damaged by use, were replaced by vellum copies. The acceptance of Christianity must have led to a great demand for copies of the Bible throughout the Empire; and though papyrus continued in use in its native home, Egypt, the remains that have come down to us after this period are fewer in number and inferior in quality.

#### *Uncial MSS.*

From this point, therefore, we must regard the fortunes of the Scriptures as committed to vellum; and it is precisely to this period that the earliest vellum manuscripts now extant belong. The Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Sinaiticus are both assigned to the first half of the fourth century. Both, when complete, contained both Old and New Testaments, in Greek, with some books which were not finally accepted as canonical; and, in spite of the recent discoveries of earlier papyrus copies of parts of some of the books, they remain the principal foundation of our modern texts of the Greek Bible. Of their textual character much will have to be said in later chapters. In appearance, as may be judged even from the reduced reproductions in Plates XXIII and XXV(i), they are extremely handsome volumes (especially the Sinaiticus), written in three or four columns to the page respectively, in capital letters

separately formed. Subsequently an arrangement in two columns to the page was generally adopted as more convenient (see Plate XXIV), and this style of writing, technically known as 'uncial',<sup>1</sup> continued in use until the tenth century.

### *Minuscules*

It was, however, a style more adapted for use at a lectern than for private reading; and in the ninth century a new style, known as 'minuscule' or 'cursive', was developed, which in a short time drove the more cumbrous uncial out of use. It was evolved from the style of writing then in use for non-literary purposes (as we now know from late documents on papyrus found in Egypt, containing accounts and other papers of the period after the Arab conquest of Egypt), and at its best it is an exceedingly beautiful form of script (see Plate XXVIII). In this script, in its various modifications, the Scriptures continued to be written until the invention of printing. Many such manuscripts are described below, for they form the main part of the materials for the history of the Bible text.

### *The Extant Manuscripts of the Bible*

The visitor to the British Museum may still see manuscripts which reproduce in external form the books of the Bible as they were first written. In one of the exhibition-cases he will see the great synagogue rolls of the Hebrew Scriptures, written on large and heavy skins, and wound round great wooden rollers, a weight too heavy to lift with comfort in the hand. Elsewhere he may see the copies for common use, written on ordinary vellum in the familiar book-form. Among the earliest Greek manuscripts he will find delicate papyrus rolls, now spread out under glass for their protection, with their narrow columns of small writing, which may well represent that in which the Gospels and Epistles were first written down. In a special case he will see two of the earliest extant copies of the Greek Bible written in uncial letters upon fine vellum, the monument of a time when the Church was becoming prosperous under a Christian Empire, and now among the most valuable witnesses to the original text of the Bible that have been spared to us by the ravages of time. Elsewhere he will see copies

<sup>1</sup> This term is derived from a phrase of Jerome's, in which he mentions (and condemns) books extravagantly written "in what they call uncial letters". The word probably means 'inch-high'; but it is now universally used for all writing in what we call capital letters.

written in the minuscule script which was the vehicle of literature throughout the later Middle Ages; and also copies of the translations of the Bible into other languages—Syriac, Coptic, Latin, and ultimately English.

## CHAPTER II

### VARIATIONS IN THE BIBLE TEXT

#### *Various Readings*

We now have to consider what happened to the text of ancient writings during the period when they were transmitted by hand-written copies; and in so doing we shall have to explain what is meant by the phrase 'various readings', which recurs frequently in the discussion of the text of the Bible, or indeed of any ancient book. No one can read our English Revised Version intelligently without seeing that in very many places there is considerable doubt as to the exact words used by the original writers. On nearly every page, especially of the New Testament, we see notes in the margin to the effect that "Some ancient authorities read" this, or 'Many ancient authorities read' that—these readings being alternatives to the readings actually adopted in the text of the revisers. The question inevitably follows, What are these "ancient authorities"? How comes it that they differ so frequently among themselves? How do we, or how does anyone, know which to follow among these divergent witnesses?

#### *The Variorum Bible*

The difficulties suggested by the various readings in the Revised Version are made more prominent if we look at such an edition as the Variorum Bible.<sup>1</sup> Here we find the several "ancient authorities" quoted separately whenever there is any important conflict of evidence as to the exact reading of any passage. Thus at Matt. xix. 17, to the words "Why callest thou Me good?" there is the following note: "*So C Δ, Pesh. Theb. Mcl. R marg.; Why askest thou me concerning the good? x B D L, Al. La. Ti. Tr. We. WH. R.*" The meaning of this note is that there are two divergent readings recorded in this passage. The manuscripts known as C and Δ (which will be found described in Chapter VII),

<sup>1</sup> This is, I believe, the only critical edition of the Bible in English. It gives a digest, under the head of 'Various Renderings', of the translations or interpretations proposed by the best commentators in doubtful passages, and, under the head of 'Various Readings', of the more important variations of the principal manuscripts, versions, and editions. The names of the editors (Prof. S. R. Driver and Prof. T. K. Cheyne of the Old Testament, Prof. Sanday and the Rev. R. L. Clarke of the New Testament, and the Rev. C. J. Ball of the Apocrypha) are guarantees for the excellence of the work. It was, unfortunately, based on the Authorized Version.



two ancient translations of the New Testament into Syriac and Coptic, the editor McClellan, and the margin of the Revised Version, read "Why callest thou Me good?" On the other hand, the four manuscripts  $\aleph$ , B, D, L, the editors Alford, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Weiss, Westcott and Hort, and the text of the Revised Version, have "Why askest thou Me concerning the good?" To the student acquainted with these critical symbols, this information is intelligible and important; but unless we have some previous knowledge of the subject we shall not understand the comparative value of the various authorities quoted. The indispensable information is given in the Preface and Introduction to the Variorum Bible; but, although stated with admirable completeness and conciseness, it is necessarily brief, and it may occur to many to wish to know more about the authorities on which our knowledge of the Bible rests. It is all very well to say that such-and-such manuscripts support one reading of a passage, while other manuscripts support another; but we are no better able than before to judge which reading is to be preferred unless we know which manuscripts are most likely to be right. The questions asked above recur with doubled force: How do there come to be differences in different records of the Bible text, and how do we know which reading to prefer when the authorities differ?

#### *Examples of Important Variations*

That these questions are not idle nor unimportant may be seen by mentioning a few of the passages in which important variations are found. We will take, for the moment, the Gospels alone. The Doxology of the Lord's Prayer is omitted in the oldest copies of Matt. vi. 13; several copies omit Matt. xvi. 2, 3 altogether; a long additional passage is sometimes found after Matt. xx. 28; the last twelve verses of St. Mark are omitted altogether by the two oldest copies of the original Greek; one very ancient authority inserts an additional incident after Luke vi. 4, while it alters the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper in Luke xxii. 19, 20, and omits altogether Peter's visit to the sepulchre in xxiv. 12, and several other details of the Resurrection; the version of the Lord's Prayer in Luke xi. 2-4 is much abbreviated in many copies; the incident of the Bloody Sweat is omitted in xxii. 43, 44, as also is the word from the Cross, "Father, forgive them", in xxiii. 34; the mention of the descent of an angel to cause the moving of the waters of Bethesda is entirely absent from the oldest copies of John v. 4, and all the best authorities omit the incident of the woman taken in

adultery in vii. 53–viii. 11. Besides the larger discrepancies, such as these, there is scarcely a verse in which there is not some variation of phrase in some copies.<sup>1</sup> No one can say that these additions or omissions or alterations are matters of mere indifference. It is true (and it cannot be too emphatically stated) that none of the fundamental truths of Christianity rests on passages of which the genuineness is doubtful; but it still remains a matter of concern to us to know that our Bible, as we have it today, represents as closely as may be the actual words used by the writers of the sacred books. It is the object of this volume to present, within a moderate compass and as clearly as possible, the means we have for knowing that it does so; to trace the history of the sacred texts from the time of their original composition to the present day; to show the authorities on which they rest, and the comparative value to be put upon each. It is the special duty of scholars to weigh the evidence on each particular disputed passage, and to form editions and translations of the sacred books; but any intelligent reader, without any knowledge of either Greek or Hebrew, can learn enough to understand the processes of criticism and the grounds on which the judgments of scholars must be based. Nor is the subject dry or uninteresting. The history of the Bible text has a living interest for all those who care for its contents; and no Englishman should be altogether ignorant of the history of the English Bible.

### *The Origin of Variations in the Text*

How then do various readings of a passage come into existence? It is a question easily answered, so soon as the character of ancient books is understood. Nowadays, when an author writes a book, he sends his manuscript or typescript to the printer, from whom he receives proof-sheets; he corrects the proof-sheets until he is satisfied that it is printed accurately; and then hundreds or thousands of copies, as the case may be, are struck off from the same type and distributed to the world. Each one of these copies is exactly like all the rest, and there can be no varieties of readings. All the extant copies of, say, any one edition of Macaulay's History or Tennyson's Poems are identical. Tennyson may have himself altered his own verses from time to time, and so have other authors; but no one doubts that in each edition of a modern book we have (slips of editor or printer excepted) exactly what the

<sup>1</sup> In Appendix I at the end of this volume will be found a selection of one hundred of the more important various readings in the Gospels and Acts, in which books such variations are most numerous. This will give the reader some idea of the issues involved, and an outline of the evidence relating to them.

author intended at the time, and that each copy of it is exactly like every other copy. But before the invention of printing this was far from being the case. Each separate copy of a book had to be written by hand; and the human hand and brain have not yet been created which could copy the whole of a long work absolutely without error. Often (and this we may easily believe to have been especially the case in the early days of the Christian Church, when it was a poor, half-educated, and persecuted body) copies were made hurriedly and without opportunity for minute revision. Mistakes were certain to creep in; and when once in existence they were certain to increase, as fresh copies were made from manuscripts already faulty. If the original manuscripts of the sacred books were still preserved, the errors of later copies would be to us now a matter of indifference; but since the original manuscripts perished long ago, we have to try to arrive at their contents by a comparison of later copies, all of which are more or less faulty and all varying from one another. This is the problem of textual criticism, and it will be seen that its sphere is large. Printing was invented about 1450, just about five centuries ago; but for all the centuries before that date, books existed only in hand-written copies, which we call manuscripts (from the Latin *manu-scriptum* = 'written by hand', often abbreviated as 'MS.'). Of the chief of these manuscripts we shall have to speak at greater length in the course of this book. Meanwhile it will be clear that the existence of differences of reading in many passages of the Bible as we have it today is due to the mistakes made in copying them by hand during the many centuries that elapsed between the composition of the books and the invention of printing.

### *The Mistakes of Copyists*

1. Errors of Hand and Eye. The mistakes of scribes are of many kinds and of varying importance. Sometimes the copyist confuses words of similar sound, as in English we sometimes find our correspondents write *there* for *their* or *here* for *hear*. Or he may pass over a word by accident; and this is especially likely to happen when the same word is repeated (it is then called *haplography*) or if two adjoining words end with the same letters. Sometimes this cause of error (known as *homoioтелеuton* = 'similar ending') operates more widely. Two successive lines of the MS. from which he is copying end in the same or similar words; and the copyist's eye slips from the first to the second, and the intermediate line is omitted. Sometimes a whole verse, or a longer passage, may be

omitted owing to the identity of the first or last words with those of an adjoining passage. Conversely what is called dittography occurs when a scribe repeats a word or phrase through carelessness. Again, similar letters may be confused, abbreviations and contractions misunderstood; sometimes the MS. from which he is copying is furnished with short explanatory notes or glosses in the margin, and he fails to see where the text ends and the note begins, and so copies the note into the text itself. Mistakes of this kind are bound to occur at all stages in the manuscript tradition, and the mistakes of one copyist are repeated and added to by the next. When, in addition, it is remembered that in the ancient world there were no spaces between the words, no distinction between capital and small letters, practically no punctuation, and as time went on abbreviations became more frequent, the pitfalls for a careless or sleepy scribe were many.

2. Errors of Mind. These are all simple errors of hand and eye. Errors of the mind are more dangerous, because they are less easy to detect. The copyist's mind wanders a little from the book he is copying, and he writes down words which come mechanically into his head, just as we do nowadays if people talk while we are writing and distract our attention. Some words are familiar in certain phrases, and the familiar phrase runs off the pen of the copyist when the word should be written in some other combination. A form of this error is very common in manuscripts of the Gospels. The same event is often narrated in two or more of them, in slightly different language; and the copyist, either consciously or unconsciously, alters the words of the one version to make them the same as those of the other. This is known as assimilation or harmonization. A careful reader of the Variorum Bible or the Revised Version will note many instances where this has happened. Thus in Matt. xi. 19 the Authorized Version has "But wisdom is justified of her children", as in Luke vii. 35; but the Revised Version tells us that the original text had "works" instead of "children" here, the truth being that the copyists of all except the earliest extant manuscripts have altered it, so as to make it correspond with the account in St. Luke. Similarly in Matt. xvi. 13, our Lord's question runs (in the R.V.) "Who do men say that the Son of Man is?" and the margin tells us that "Many ancient authorities read *that I, the Son of Man, am*. See Mark viii. 27; Luke ix. 18." In Matt. xxiii. 14 a whole verse has probably been inserted from the parallel passages in Mark and Luke; and so with Mark xv. 28. In Luke vi. 48 the concluding

words of the parable of the house built on the rock, "because it had been well builded", have been altered in "many ancient authorities" in accordance with the more striking and familiar phrase in St. Matthew, "for it had been founded upon the rock". Errors like these increase in the later copies, as the words of the sacred narrative are more and more familiar to the copyists; and when once made they do not admit of correction, unless we are able to examine copies written before the corruption took place. They do not betray themselves by injuring the sense of the passage, as is generally the case with errors of the first class.

3. *Errors of Deliberate Alteration.* An untrue hand or eye or an over-true memory may do much harm in a copyist; but worst and most dangerous of all is it when the copyist begins to think for himself. The veneration in which the sacred books were held has generally protected them against intentional alterations of the text, but not entirely so. The *harmonization* of the Gospel narratives, described in the last paragraph, has certainly been in some cases intentional; and that, no doubt, without the smallest wish to deceive, but simply with the idea of supplementing the one narrative from another parallel source or sources, or in order to smooth out discrepancies. Sometimes scribes have applied (or misapplied) their ingenuity to amend the text because the archetype they were following had an obvious mistake of the usual scribal kind, or presented some difficulty which the copyist attempted to correct by simplification or omission or explanatory gloss. In examples of the latter kind it is important to try to find the reading which lies behind and will explain the variants, and, since the scribe would tend to simplify any difficulty as it appeared to him in the original, one working rule is that when two variant readings are clearly connected, 'the harder reading is to be preferred'. At times reverential and dogmatic motives have influenced the transmission of the text. Thus, e.g., the incident of the ministering Angel and the Bloody Sweat in Gethsemane, Luke xxii. 43-4, is omitted by a number of MSS. (including Vaticanus) and representatives of the versions because, it might seem, these verses were inconsistent with the divinity of Christ. Again, it seems very likely that the name of the robber in Matt. xxvii. 16-17 was Jesus Barabbas, but on grounds of reverence this was quietly changed at a very early date since most MSS. omit "Jesus" here. In these cases the rule that 'the shorter reading is to be preferred' does not operate. Sometimes the alterations are more extensive. The long passages which appear in our English Bibles as Mark xvi. 9-20

and John vii. 53-viii. 11 are absent from the oldest MSS. of the New Testament. In the former, our oldest and best MSS. end at Mark xvi. 8, and what follows is an attempt, based on the traditions found in Luke and John, to round off the story. John vii. 53-viii. 11 is also omitted by the oldest MSS., while in others it is found after vii. 36, or at the end of the Gospel, or after Luke xxi. 38, and was certainly a piece of 'floating' tradition which was inserted into the New Testament text at an early date. There is, however, no reason to suppose that additions of this kind have been made in any except very few cases. The evidence for our Bible text is too great and of too varied a description to allow us to suppose that passages have been interpolated without any sign of it being visible. The intentional alterations of scribes are, for the most part, verbal, not substantial, such as the modifications of a phrase in one Evangelist to suit the narrative of another, or the combination of two reports of some utterance into one; and errors of this kind can generally be detected on a comparison of several different manuscripts, in some of which the alteration will not have been made.

*Early Manuscripts the Most Likely to be Free from Error*

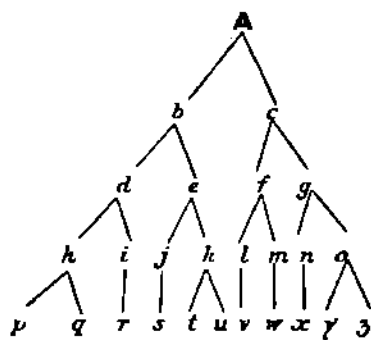
From this short account of the different classes of mistakes into which the copyists of manuscripts were most liable to fall, it will be clear that the later a manuscript is in date the more likely it is to contain many errors. Each time a fresh copy is made some new mistakes will probably be introduced, while only the most obvious blunders in the manuscript copied will be corrected. It may therefore be stated as a general rule that the earlier a manuscript is the better is its text likely to be. The rule is only a general one, and is liable to exceptions; for instance, a manuscript written in the year 1200, if copied direct from a manuscript of the year 350, will probably be more correct than a manuscript written in the year 1000, which was copied from one written in 850 or 900. Each manuscript must therefore be searched, to see if it shows signs of containing an early form of the text; but the general rule that the earliest manuscripts are the best will still usually hold good.

*The Method of Recovering the True Text*

The problem which lies before the textual critic, as the student of the language of the Bible is technically called, is now becoming clear. The original manuscripts of the Bible, written by the authors of the various books, have long ago disappeared. The critic's

object, consequently, is to reconstruct the text of these original manuscripts by a comparison of the later copies which have come down to us; and the difficulty of his task depends on the age and number of these copies which he is able to compare. A diagram will make the position clear.

Here A represents the original author's copy of a book; *b* and *c* are copies made from it; *d*, *e*, *f*, *g* are copies made from *b* and *c*; and so on. Some errors are sure to be made in *b* and *c*, but not the same in each; *d* will correct a few of those in *b*, but will copy the rest and add more; *e* will both correct and copy different ones, and so will *f* and *g* and all the subsequent copies. So, as time goes on, the number of errors will go on increasing, and the extreme copies diverge from one another more and more. Sometimes a copyist will use two manuscripts to copy from (for instance, we may suppose the writer of *p* to have copied from *n* as well as from *h*), and then the errors of two different lines of descent will become mixed. At some stage in the history of the text perhaps some scholar



will compare several copies, correct what he thinks are mistakes in them, and cause copies to be made of his corrected text; and then all manuscripts which are taken, directly or indirectly, from these corrected copies will bear the stamp of this revision, and will differ from those of which the line of descent is different. Now suppose all the manuscripts denoted by the letters in the diagram to have disappeared

(and it must be remembered that by far the greater number of copies of any ancient book have perished long ago), except *p*, *l* and *y*. It is evident that none of these copies will contain exactly the true text of A; each will have diverged from it, but each will have diverged differently. Some mistakes they may have in common, but in most they will differ; and wherever they differ it is the business of textual criticism to determine which manuscript has the true reading, and so to try to re-establish by comparison the original text of A.

Such, but infinitely complicated by the number of manuscripts of the Bible which have come down to us, and by the long lapse of years since the originals were written, is the task of the scholars who try to restore to us the exact words of the sacred books. The object of the chapters which follow is to show in more detail the nature of the problem in respect to the Old Testament and New

Testaments respectively; to state what is known, or plausibly conjectured, concerning the history of their text; and to describe the principal manuscripts of each, and the other means available for the detection of mistakes and the restoration of the truth. The story is not so technical but that all may understand it, and all can appreciate the interest and value of the minutest study of the true Word of God.

*Textual Errors do not Endanger Doctrine*

One word of warning, already referred to, must be emphasized in conclusion. No fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith rests on a disputed reading. Constant references to mistakes and divergences of reading, such as the plan of this book necessitates, might give rise to the doubt whether the substance, as well as the language, of the Bible is not open to question. It cannot be too strongly asserted that in substance the text of the Bible is certain. Especially is this the case with the New Testament.<sup>1</sup> The number of manuscripts of the New Testament, of early translations from it, and of quotations from it in the oldest writers of the Church, is so large that it is practically certain that the true reading of every doubtful passage is preserved in some one or other of these ancient authorities. This can be said of no other ancient book in the world. Scholars are satisfied that they possess substantially the true text of the principal Greek and Roman writers whose works have come down to us, of Sophocles, of Thucydides, of Cicero, of Virgil; yet our knowledge of their writings depends on a mere handful of manuscripts, whereas the manuscripts of the New Testament are counted by hundreds, and even thousands. In the case of the Old Testament we are not quite in such a good position, as will be shown presently. In some passages it seems certain that the true reading has not been preserved by any ancient authority, and we are driven to conjecture in order to supply it. But such passages are an infinitesimal portion of the whole. The Christian can take the whole Bible in his hand and say without fear or hesitation that he holds in it the true Word of God, handed down without essential loss from generation to generation throughout the centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hort, whose authority on the point is quite incontestable, estimates the proportion of words about which there is *some* doubt at about one-eighth of the whole; but by far the greater part of these consists merely of differences in order and other unimportant variations, and "the amount of what can in any sense be called substantial variation . . . can hardly form more than a thousandth part of the entire text" (*Introduction to The New Testament in the Original Greek*, p. 2).



## CHAPTER III

### THE AUTHORITIES FOR THE BIBLE TEXT

We have seen that the Bible has been preserved to us, for many centuries previous to the invention of printing, by means of copies written by hand; and we have seen that in such copies mistakes are certain to arise and multiply. Now if a scholar at this present day were to take in hand the task of correcting these mistakes and recovering the true text, how would he set about it? Of course, as a matter of fact he would find that very much of the work had already been done for him by earlier scholars; but we will suppose that nothing has been done, and see how he must go to work. That will show us the way in which scholars for the last four centuries have laboured on the text of the Bible.

#### 1. *Manuscripts*

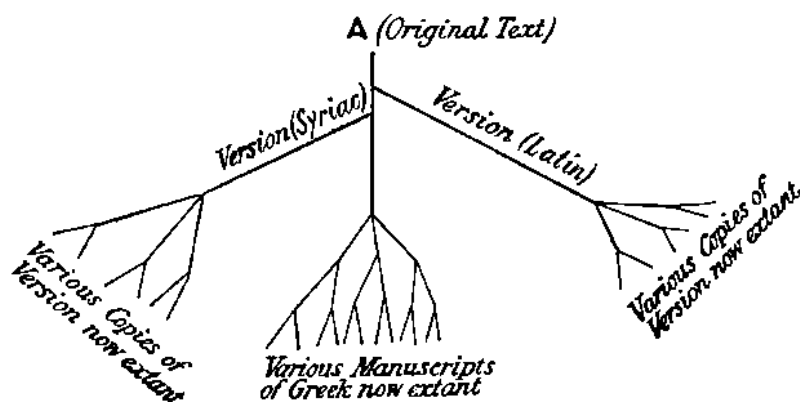
In the first place he will examine as many as possible of the manuscripts of the Bible in the original languages in which it was written, Hebrew and Greek. These are scattered about in all the great libraries of the world, and must be visited and carefully studied. He will note which are the oldest, he will use his judgment to determine which are the best. Where all the manuscripts are agreed, he has nothing more to do, and those parts of the text are put down at once as certain. Where there are differences between the manuscripts, he will have to decide which of the various readings is the more probable. In some cases the reading of a manuscript will be obviously wrong; in many it will be easy to see that the one reading is a perversion of the other—that the copyist has inadvertently dropped out a word or misread the word in the original from which he was copying, or has fallen into some other of the classes of error described in the preceding chapter. In this way a correct representation of the greater part of the text will be obtained. Still there will remain a considerable number of passages about which the manuscripts differ, but in which it is not possible to decide at once what reading is right. Then it will be necessary to discriminate between the manuscripts. Our scholar's earlier investigations will have shown him which manuscripts are generally trustworthy, and which are most full of mistakes. As a general rule he will prefer the reading which is

supported by the oldest manuscripts, as being nearest to the time of the original work; and if all the oldest manuscripts are on one side, and all the later on the other, the reading of the former will certainly be adopted. Where the older manuscripts are divided, his task becomes harder; he has to consider whether either of the alternative readings is likely to have been derived from the other, or if one of them is more likely than the other to have been invented at a later time. For instance, there is a tendency among scribes, when they do not understand a phrase, to substitute one more easy of comprehension; and hence it is a rule of criticism that a harder reading is generally to be preferred to an easier one, since the latter is more likely to have been substituted for the former than vice versa. This rule must be applied with discretion, however, for the *unintentional* alterations of scribes will often produce a harder reading than the true one. Another principle is to try to classify the manuscripts in groups, those which habitually agree with one another being probably descended from some common ancestor; and a reading which is supported by two or more groups is more likely to be right than one which is supported by one only, even though that one may be a very large and numerous group. By the time our scholar has proceeded so far in his work, he will have formed a pretty confident opinion as to which manuscripts and groupings are the most worthy of trust; and then, when other methods fail to determine the true reading in a doubtful passage, he will be inclined to accept that reading which is supported by the manuscripts which he believes to be the best. He will, however, if he is wise, recognize that a margin of doubt remains. The best manuscript is not always right, and the balance of probability may be changed by the discovery of fresh evidence. The soundest scholar is not always the most dogmatic as to the certainty of his results.

## 2. *Versions*

So far our scholar has confined himself entirely to the manuscripts of the sacred books in their original languages; but he will be making a great mistake if he stops there. He will remember that the Bible has been translated into many different languages, and he will bethink himself that a translation which has been made with any care and accuracy will generally show what was the Hebrew or Greek text which the translator had before him. Now several of the translations of the Bible—such as the Greek versions of the Old Testament, and the earliest Latin and Syriac

versions of the New—were made at a date earlier than that at which any of the great MSS. of the original Hebrew and Greek were written. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has indeed narrowed the gap very considerably between the oldest extant Hebrew text and the Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament, but (apart from Isaiah and the passages in the Habakkuk Commentary) they are very fragmentary, and the Septuagint is still an important authority for the text. Again, in the New Testament there are but three fragments of Greek papyri which belong to the second century, more—but still fragments—from the third, while our oldest complete MSS. are not earlier than the end of the fourth century. But the earliest Latin translation was made



before A.D. 200, and the earliest Syriac dates from the late second or early third century. Hence, if we can gather from the existing copies of these translations what were the Greek words which their authors were translating, we know (e.g. in the case of the Latin) what was read in that particular passage in a Greek MS. current in the second century when the translation was made; and this brings us back much nearer to the time when the originals of the New Testament books were themselves written. The versions are also valuable for telling us in what part of the world a particular type of text was current. As will be seen later, different types of text can be associated with different parts of the world—Syria, Egypt, Roman Africa, and so on; and the evidence for this is largely derived from the translations in these languages. It is true that we have not the original copies of the Latin and Syriac versions, any more than we have the originals of the Greek itself, and that a similar process of comparison of copies to that described in the last paragraph must be gone through if we are to discover the original readings of the translations; but in many cases this

can be done with certainty, and then we have a very early testimony indeed to the original Greek text. We talk sometimes of the 'stream of tradition' by which the text of the Bible has been borne down to us from the fountain-head in the original manuscripts; well, the service of the Versions (as the translations of the Bible into other languages are technically called) is that they tap the stream near the fountain-head. They are unaffected by any corruptions that may have crept into the Greek text *after* the translations were made; they may have corruptions of their own, but they will not generally be the same as the corruptions in the Greek text, and they will serve mutually to correct one another. To alter the comparison, we get several groups of evidence converging on the same spot, as the above diagram shows.

### 3. *The Early Fathers*

Our scholar has yet one other source to which he may turn for evidence as to the original text—namely, the quotations of isolated passages in the writings of the early Fathers. Many of the first Christian writers whose works have been preserved—for instance, Irenæus, Origen, Athanasius, Jerome—must have used manuscripts of the Bible older than any that we now have, and many of them quoted largely from the Bible in their writings. If, therefore, we know in what form they quoted any particular passage, we may argue that they found that form of it in the manuscript which they used. But this argument must be used with much caution. In the first place, it is evident that they often quoted from memory. Copies of the Bible were not so common in those days as they are now, and, in the absence of the modern division into chapters and verses, it was less easy to turn up a passage when required to verify a quotation. A curious proof of the liability to error in quotations from memory is furnished by a modern divine. It is said that Jeremy Taylor quotes the well-known text "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God" no less than nine times, yet only twice in the same form, and in no single instance correctly. We must not assume that the ancient Fathers were infallible in their memories. Further, it is often difficult to be certain that we have the quotations as the Fathers themselves wrote them. If a scribe who was copying a manuscript of one of the early Fathers found a text quoted in a form unfamiliar to him, he would be not unlikely to alter it into the form then current. For these reasons it is dangerous to base an argument for a reading on

the Fathers alone, except when the context in which it is found shows conclusively in what form the writer quoted it; but to confirm other evidence they may often be of very great value. They also contribute to show at what time and in what country particular readings or types of text were current. They will be of still more value when their own texts have themselves been critically edited, which is at present far from being the case with all of them.

Manuscripts, Versions, Fathers—such are the resources of our scholar in his task of recovering the true text of the Bible. Of the third of these we cannot speak at length within the compass of this book, though reference will occasionally be made to it; but in the history of the two first is the history of the Bible text. Our object will be to describe, first the principal manuscripts, and then the chief translations, of each Testament in turn, and so to carry down the history of the Bible from the earliest times to our own days—to show how our own English Bible is the lineal descendant of the volumes once written by Prophet, Apostle and Evangelist.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE HEBREW OLD TESTAMENT

The history of the Hebrew Old Testament falls into two parts, divided by the great national catastrophe of the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. In the earlier part the history of the text is closely bound up with the history of the Canon—the history, that is, of how and when the several books came into existence, and how and when they were accepted by the Hebrews as the authoritative sacred books of their faith.

#### *The Responsibility of Critical Examination*

The consideration of these questions is made more difficult and delicate because of beliefs and misconceptions which have at certain times and among many people assumed almost the character of dogmas of faith. The Bible is so intertwined with our inmost religion, is so rightly regarded as the immutable basis of our faith, that to many people it is hard to admit that any doubt can be allowed to attach to either the form or the substance of any of its statements. But this is to make an assumption with regard to God's methods which is not warranted by what we see of His methods elsewhere. There is therefore nothing that need disturb or unsettle us in the idea that He has also imposed on us the responsibility of using the intellectual faculties with which He has endowed us in the study of the records in which the history of the chosen Hebrew people and of the foundation of the Christian Church have come down to us. These intellectual faculties may lead us astray, just as we may go astray in far more important matters of faith and conduct; but it is a poor faith which does not believe that the Holy Spirit will, if we trust Him, ultimately lead us to the truth. It is incredible, to anyone who believes in God, that there should be an irreparable discrepancy between the truth and the results to which we can attain by the exercise of those faculties which God has given to us, and which He has imposed on us the responsibility of using.

This is not to say that every result which every new critic proclaims is to be accepted forthwith as truth. It is only to say that it is not to be condemned forthwith without examination because it offends our present opinions and beliefs. The history of Biblical

criticism, as of the criticism of all ancient history and literature, is full of erroneous views, confidently proclaimed, eagerly accepted by those who wish to appear in the vanguard of advance, and then disproved or allowed gradually to sink into obscurity. The way to counter the results of research which are distasteful to us is more research; and it is surely a healthier faith to believe that truth is great and will prevail than to hide one's head, ostrich-like, in the sand.

### *The Principle of Free Inquiry*

This insistence on a stereotyped form of faith which must not be questioned is a relatively late development. It was not the attitude of the Fathers of the Christian Church. They readily admitted that there were doubts about the authorship of certain books. They knew, only too well, that there were differences of opinion about articles of faith, and were not disturbed by obscurities as to the history of the Hebrew people. We do not always accept their interpretations of doubtful passages, or their reading of the history of the past; but we can follow their acceptance of the principle of free inquiry, and can hope that with fuller knowledge we may gradually come nearer to the truth.

In these pages, therefore, an attempt will be made to set out the results which modern criticism is at present disposed to accept with regard to the history of the books composing the Bible, fully recognizing that many of these results are still tentative. But it also needs to be said that the material which has come to light in recent years has confirmed the methods, and not infrequently the conclusions, of earlier scholars.

### *'Higher Criticism'*

The resistance to the principle of free inquiry is not so strong as it once was, but it is perhaps still advisable at this point to utter a warning against the misuse which is frequently made of the phrase 'Higher Criticism', as if it implied an attitude of disbelief in the authenticity of the Bible. This is a complete misunderstanding of the real meaning of the words. 'Higher Criticism' is criticism applied to the substance or contents of a book, while 'Lower Criticism' is criticism applied to its form or text. And criticism is not necessarily hostile criticism. It is merely examination or judgment. It is just as much 'Higher Criticism' to argue that Moses personally wrote all the books of the Pentateuch as it is to maintain that they are of late date and consequently

untrustworthy. The question of importance is not whether the criticism is 'higher', but whether it is sound; and that is a question of evidence and argument, not of a *priori* assumptions or of impeaching the motives of those whose views we find unpalatable or consider to be unsound.

#### *Historical Books of O.T. Based on Earlier Material*

It is to be observed that there is nothing in the books themselves inconsistent with this way of looking at them. The books of the Pentateuch do not claim Moses as their author; they may be referred to in later times as 'the books of Moses', but that is because four out of the five are books about him. His words or actions may be quoted from them, without implying that he himself recorded them. That older materials underlay them appears, for instance, in the reference to the book of the Wars of the Lord (Num. xxi. 14). The later historical books also repeatedly refer to the materials out of which they have been constructed: the book of Jashar, the book of the acts of Solomon, the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel, or of Judah, and so on. They are avowedly works composed by a later writer or writers, based upon such materials as were available.

#### *Composite Materials of O.T. Books*

This *a priori* probability is confirmed by the literary examination of the books themselves. This reveals to a Hebrew scholar differences in language and style, which are concealed from the English reader by the uniformity of the English translation. He can, however, easily understand it if he imagines what a history of England would be like which was compounded of extracts from Holinshed, Clarendon, Hume, Macaulay, Green and Trevelyan. The several elements would reveal themselves by the difference of their style and language. And this method of compiling history by putting together sections from different sources can be paralleled from our own medieval chroniclers. Their general practice was, not to rewrite the history of a past period in their own words, as a modern historian would do, but to take over whole slabs from an earlier chronicler, with insertions from other sources or of their own. Thus Matthew Paris, the great St. Albans historian of the thirteenth century, in his *Greater Chronicles* took over (with additions and corrections) the work of his predecessor Roger of Wendover, who himself adopted the chronicle of Abbot John de Cella, which was itself compiled from the Bible and various early historians and



romancers. Similarly Roger of Hoveden wrote a history of England from 731 to 1201 which has been thus described :

For the part from 731 to 1148 he simply copied an earlier chronicle, written at Durham, which was itself compounded from the histories of Simeon of Durham and Henry of Huntingdon ; while, to go still further back, Simeon's history was largely derived from Florence of Worcester and an early Northumbrian chronicle. From 1148 to 1169 Hoveden's narrative appears to be original, though partly based on the Chronicle of the Abbey of Melrose and the lives and letters of Becket. From 1170 to 1192 his work is merely a revision of the chronicle assigned to Benedict of Peterborough. Finally, from 1192 to 1201 he is an original and independent witness.

#### *Dates of Final Composition*

This analysis of the methods of the medieval chroniclers of England may help us to understand the methods of the chroniclers of Judah and Israel, and may satisfy us that there is nothing unnatural or unreasonable in the differences which Hebrew scholars discern in the strata of which the historical books of the Old Testament are, according to their analysis, composed. When they were finally put together in their present form may never be definitely known, and it is not necessary to suppose that modern scholarship has yet said its last word. The Jews themselves attributed the definite fixing of the Canon of the Law to Ezra, who promulgated it at the great assembly of the people recorded in Nehemiah (chapter viii) ; but of course that does not mean that the books themselves were not of earlier date. The book of Deuteronomy is generally believed to be (at any rate in its main substance) the book found in the Temple by Hilkiah the high priest in the time of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 8). Its discovery at this time (621 B.C.) was evidently a complete surprise to the king, and it was made the basis of the reform of the cultus (see 2 Kings xxiii. 1-24). The book itself, which reflects the teaching of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries, may have been composed during the preceding half century. The earlier strata in the other books of the Pentateuch are variously assigned by scholars to dates between 950 and 750, with full recognition of the fact that they rest on materials of earlier date. The later (the so-called 'priestly') elements, and the final redaction of the whole, are attributed to the time of Ezra (about 400 B.C.), or by some

even later. There is still great divergence in the views of scholars, and none can claim decisive authority.

Of the other historical books, Joshua has strata similar to those of the Pentateuch. The books of Judges, Samuel and Kings are evidently and avowedly compiled from a large variety of materials of different dates, put together after the fall of the monarchy. Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah all hang together, and are of the fourth century. Job may be of the same date, but there is little evidence, and opinions vary greatly. The Psalms and Proverbs are composed of several collections, ranging from the eighth to the third, or possibly the second century. Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and Daniel are the latest books of the Old Testament. The Prophets range from Amos, Hosea, Micah and Isaiah, in the eighth century, to Joel and Jonah, probably in the fourth; but in all cases there may be later additions or editorial revisions. On this point there is infinite scope for the ingenuity of scholars. Some are never tired of subdividing, and see the hands of editors everywhere. Some seem to have very little sense of the way in which it is reasonable to suppose that books were written and circulated.

#### *Arrangement of the Books of the O.T.*

We have therefore in the Old Testament a collection of books, the materials of which go back to an indefinite antiquity, and which were put together in their present forms, or approximately in their present forms, at various times between the ninth and the second centuries. The process of their adoption as having canonical authority appears to be indicated by the classification which the Jews themselves made of them. This classification is into three groups, known as the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa, or sacred writings. The Law included the five books of Moses, which we now call the Pentateuch. The Prophets comprised the historical books of Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings (these four being a continuous work, known as the four books of 'Kingdoms' or 'Reigns'),<sup>1</sup> which were known as 'the Former

<sup>1</sup> The sequence of nomenclature appears to be as follows. These books originally formed a continuous work in two books, to the first of which the title of 'Samuel' is given in Hebrew MSS., although Samuel himself disappears before the middle of it. The Septuagint divided it into four books (presumably to suit the length of a normal papyrus roll), with the title of 1-4 Kingdoms. Jerome followed the Septuagint division, only substituting 'Kings' for 'Kingdoms'. The Hebrew printed Bibles, from 1517 onwards, also adopted the division into four books, but restored the title 'Samuel' to the first two. The English translators accepted this, together with Jerome's 'Kings' for 'Kingdoms' in the second pair.

Prophets'; and Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets, known as 'the Latter Prophets'. The Hagiographa consisted of the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Esther, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. The origin of this classification and of the inclusion of several historical and prophetic books among the Hagiographa is unknown; but it almost certainly implies that those books were written later, and were among the last to be recognized as inspired. Divisions of the books themselves into reading-lessons, paragraphs, and verses (very nearly corresponding to our modern verses) were made in very early times; but they are not of much importance to us here. They are indicated in the manuscripts by blank spaces of greater or lesser size.

### *Its Stages*

1. *The Law.* It seems tolerably certain that the three divisions of the books of the Old Testament, just mentioned, represent three stages in the process known as the formation of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture. Whenever the books of the Pentateuch were written, it is at least certain that they, constituting the Law, were the first group of writings to be thus accepted. In the days of the kings it was possible for the 'book of the Law' (perhaps meaning our Deuteronomy) to be lost and forgotten, and to be recovered as it were by accident (2 Kings xxii. 8); but the Captivity taught the Jews to be careful of their Scriptures, and the Canon of the Law may be taken as fixed by about 400 B.C., after the return from the Exile, but before the Samaritan schism, and possibly under the guidance of Ezra, to whom Jewish tradition assigned a special prominence in the work of collecting the sacred books.<sup>1</sup> From this time forth the five books of Moses, as they were commonly called, were regarded as a thing apart. They were sacred; and by degrees the greatest care came to be devoted to copying them with perfect accuracy and studying minutely every word that they contained. There is reason to suppose that this extreme accuracy was not at first required or obtained; but in the time of our Lord it is clear that the text of the Law was held in the utmost veneration, and the class of the 'scribes', whose special duty was to copy the sacred books, was fully established and held in considerable esteem.

<sup>1</sup> The Jews themselves attributed the formation of the whole Canon to Ezra, with the help of elders composing a body known as 'The Great Synagogue'; but it has been shown that this body is an imaginary one, and it is now generally recognized that the formation of the Canon must have been gradual, following the stages here indicated.

2. *The Prophets*. The second group of books to obtain recognition as inspired, and to be adopted into the Canon, was that of the Prophets, the 'Former Prophets' comprising the historical books (Joshua to 2 Kings), and the 'Latter Prophets' the writing prophets without Daniel. The historical books contain a good deal of prophetic material, and, indeed, Samuel and Kings were attributed to various prophetic writers by the Chroniclers (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 29, 2 Chron. ix. 29, xxvi. 22, etc.), and in fact Former and Latter Prophets supplement each other. Their canonization must have taken place before ben Sira wrote (c. 180 B.C.), since he summarizes the historical books and refers to "the twelve prophets" (Ecclus. xlvii-xlix., cf. xlix. 10), but the date cannot be fixed precisely.

3. *The Hagiographa*. The remaining group, known as the Hagiographa or 'Writings', is of a miscellaneous character, and for some time the books composing it evidently circulated on much the same footing as other books which were eventually excluded from the Canon, such as Judith or Ecclesiasticus. It is likely that each attained recognition independently, book by book, at different times. However, it was held that inspiration had ceased with Ezra; consequently any book which was known to be later than this would be excluded, and in this connexion is it noteworthy that the Psalms are attributed to David, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Song of Songs to Solomon, Daniel purports to deal with events about 600 B.C., Job is a grandson of Esau long before the days of Moses, and Esther is set in the days of Xerxes I (485-465 B.C.). Only Ecclesiasticus bears its author's name, and is among those not admitted.

It is probable that the process of canonization began soon after 200 B.C. and the close of the prophetic canon. Ben Sira c. 180 B.C. (Ecclus. xlvii. 8-10) knows of the Davidic Psalter, and his grandson and translator in his Preface to the Greek version of Ecclesiasticus mentions "the law and the prophets and the other books of our Fathers". Proverbs and Job were probably recognized early, and Daniel (c. 164) perhaps soon after its appearance. The order of the Hebrew books suggests that Ezra-Nehemiah was received before Chronicles. Of the rest, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and Esther remained longest in doubt, and it is perhaps significant that they are not quoted in the New Testament.

But it is clear that other books than these were in circulation, especially amongst the Jews of Alexandria, for in the Greek

translation made for them (the 'Septuagint'—see below, p. 98) the books which now constitute our Apocrypha appear intermingled among the canonical books.

### *The Synod of Jamnia*

A decisive point in the history of both the Canon and the Text of the Old Testament was reached about the end of the first century of the Christian era. Throughout the period of the wars of the Maccabees there may well have been little time to spare for the labours of scholarship;<sup>1</sup> but with the attainment of religious independence and the return of more settled conditions came greater attention to study. In the famous schools of Hillel and Shammai, about the beginning of the Christian era, we may find the origin of a long line of rabbis and scribes to whom is due the fixing of the Hebrew Canon and of the traditional text as we now have them. The destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the annihilation of Judæa as a nation-state, the necessity of combating both the Christians who had taken to themselves the Old Testament Scriptures and the hellenistic tendencies within Judaism itself, turned the Jews back on their sacred books. Somewhere between A.D. 90 and 100 a synod is recorded to have been held at Jamnia (near Jaffa), at which certain disputed questions with regard to the acceptability of some of the books—notably of Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, and Esther—were decided, as well as of others accepted by the Christians but not included in the Hebrew Bible. It is from this point that we may regard the Canon of the Hebrew Scriptures as being definitely fixed so far as orthodox Judaism is concerned, and the canonical books are those which now appear in our Old Testament. But although the Canon of inspired Scriptures now included Law, Prophets and Writings, the Pentateuch remained supreme; it was the revelation *par excellence*, and the Prophets and Hagiographa were regarded as comment upon it, as 'tradition'. Moreover, it is for this reason that the non-canonical books (except Ecclesiasticus) ceased to be copied by the

<sup>1</sup> In the description of the persecution of Antiochus in 1 Macc. i. 56, 57, it is said: "And they rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, and set them on fire. And wheresoever was found with any a book of the Covenant, and if any consented to the law, the king's sentence delivered him to death." But in 2 Macc. ii. 13, 14, after a reference to "the public archives and the records that concern Nehemiah, and how he, founding a library, gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the books of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts", it is added: "And in like manner Judas also gathered together for us all those writings that had been scattered by reason of the war that befell, and they are still with us."

Jews, and their preservation is due to the fact that the Greek Canon of Alexandria had become the Old Testament of the Church.

### *History of the Hebrew Text*

Our knowledge of the history of any text must, it is clear, rest in the first place on the manuscripts of that text in the original language. In the case of the Hebrew Old Testament, however, no manuscript of the whole or substantial parts of it is older than the end of the ninth century A.D. In other words, apart from the Dead Sea Scrolls, over a thousand years separate our earliest Hebrew manuscripts from the date at which the latest of the books contained in them was originally written. This would be disquieting, when one reflects how much a text may be corrupted or mutilated in the course of transmission over a long period of time; but in the case of the Old Testament there are several considerations which help to mitigate the disquietude and help to bridge the very considerable gap in the history of the text.

Although direct evidence for so long a period is lacking, this is not so with regard to indirect evidence of a kind which in any case is extremely valuable. There are the Aramaic Targums, paraphrases of the Scriptures into the Aramaic dialect spoken by the Jews after Hebrew had ceased to be a living language; there are the Greek versions—the ‘Septuagint’ made for the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria, and also the remains of the versions made for Jews by Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus during the second century A.D.; there is the Syriac version of the Pentateuch which was probably made in the first place by Jews. In addition there is for the books of Moses the Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuch which, although it has its own textual history, represents a Hebrew text going back to the fourth century B.C. All these will be discussed in greater detail in their proper place, but even if we possessed Hebrew manuscripts much older than is in fact the case, the versions and the Samaritan Pentateuch would be important witnesses.

In the second place, so far as the traditional text is concerned, there is the extreme care with which manuscripts were copied by Jewish scribes. Errors were bound to creep into all copies that have come down to us. Nevertheless the close agreement of the second Isaiah Scroll from the Dead Sea with the manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries shows how carefully the text-tradition which they represent has been preserved.

*Destruction of Older Copies*

The same extreme care which was devoted to the transcription of manuscripts is also at the bottom of the disappearance of the earlier copies. When a manuscript had been copied with the exactitude prescribed by the Talmud, and had been duly verified, it was accepted as authentic and regarded as being of equal value with any other copy. If all were equally correct, age gave no advantage to a manuscript; on the contrary, age was a positive disadvantage, since a manuscript was liable to become defaced or damaged in the lapse of time. A damaged or imperfect copy was at once condemned as unfit for use. Attached to each synagogue was a 'Geniza' (from a Hebrew word 'to hide', 'to store'), a sort of lumber room or cupboard in which worn or defective manuscripts or indeed any other documents containing the Divine Name were laid aside. Thus far from regarding an older copy of the Scriptures as more valuable, the Jewish habit has been to prefer the newer, as being the more perfect, and free from damage. The older copies, once consigned to the Geniza, where they would be safe from profanation, were left until the room or cupboard was full, and were then removed and buried with elaborate ceremonial.

*The Cairo Geniza - to hide, to store*

The fate which thus awaited Hebrew manuscripts withdrawn from circulation had one very notable exception. In the synagogue of Old Cairo, once the Christian church of St. Michael which had been bought by the Jews in A.D. 882, was a Geniza which for centuries had been walled up and forgotten. After the synagogue was rebuilt in 1890 the contents of this chamber found their way into libraries and collections all over the world, the most valuable being now in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Cambridge University Library, the Jewish Seminary in New York, and the Leningrad Library. These manuscripts and fragments, some dating back to the sixth century, have shed a great deal of light on the work of Jewish scribes and scholars in the centuries between the Dead Sea Scrolls and our oldest Biblical manuscripts.

*The Theory of a Single Archetype*

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the examination and comparison of large numbers of available Hebrew manuscripts was undertaken by two notable scholars. The first collection of evidence was made by Benjamin Kennicott, canon of Christ Church, who published at Oxford in 1776-80 the readings of no

less than 615 manuscripts and 52 printed editions. He was followed in 1784-8 by the Italian scholar Giovanni de Rossi, who published collations of 731 manuscripts and 300 printed editions. De Rossi used better manuscripts, on the whole, than Kennicott and his work is more broadly based. The conclusions of their labours were that the variants in the manuscripts were so negligible, and their conformity in peculiar forms and even of single letters was such, that all extant manuscripts had descended from a single archetype. These observations seemed to be confirmed by quotations in the Talmud and by the Greek versions made in the second century A.D. by Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, which have a similar text. There are also Jewish traditions, of which one says that there were three copies of the Torah in the Temple which differed from each other, the differences being settled by adopting the reading which appeared in any two against that in only one—a simple though unreliable method of textual criticism. According to the other tradition, after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70 a copy of the Torah was rescued by the priests, and during the Second Jewish Revolt in 135 it was brought to Baghdad; from there copies were sent to the different Jewish communities. On the evidence of these facts and traditions it was believed that the Hebrew text had been fixed early in the second century A.D. on the basis of copies from the Temple, from which all other manuscripts are descended. This theory, which had behind it all the authority of the great scholar Paul de Lagarde, became generally accepted, and indeed was assumed in previous editions of this work.

#### *Difficulties of the 'Archetype' Theory*

There is, as we shall see, some truth in the theory, but it is not the whole truth. A re-examination of the evidence shows that although the uniformity of the tradition is greater than might be expected in literature of such antiquity, there is a greater degree of variation than would support the archetype hypothesis. Even within the manuscripts used by Kennicott and de Rossi this is so, and when earlier manuscripts, discovered since their time, are added to the scale, the differences are not inconsiderable and unimportant. The version of Aquila, although based on a Hebrew text closer to the traditional text than the Septuagint, is by no means identical with it. Again, the Talmudic literature shows that for long there were divergent forms of the text in the different Rabbinical schools, some of which agree with the older versions against the traditional text. This has been greatly reinforced by



the texts and fragments from the Cairo Geniza, from which, as Paul Kahle has shown, it is possible to see more clearly the work and traditions of the different centres of Jewish learning.

When the Dead Sea discoveries were first made known it seemed that the issue had been settled, and settled in favour of the archetype theory, for it was announced that the Isaiah Scrolls contained a text virtually identical with that of our printed Hebrew Bible. However, although this is largely true of 'Isaiah B', it is less so in the case of 'Isaiah A', and while both books have the same general type of text, the fact that two quite different manuscripts were found in the same cave shows that a degree of fluidity was possible even in one centre. But, as mentioned already, the study of the fragments from the Dead Sea Caves has brought to light very different types of text, sometimes agreeing with the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch against the traditional text, at other times having readings shared with no other authority.

### *The Theory of Multiple Texts*

In consequence of what has been said, the view which is specially associated with the work of Paul Kahle has been more and more gaining ground, namely that the text-tradition of the Hebrew Bible was much more fluid than was previously thought. This was certainly the case before the destruction of Jerusalem, when the forms and types of text represented by the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint were not deviations from the norm, but competing traditions in their own right. After the fall of Jerusalem, when the need for drawing Judaism together and meeting the claims of the Christian Church became more and more pressing, the movement towards standardization of the text began to make itself felt. But the achievement of a fixed text was not the result of a single act of authorization universally adopted, but of a long process in which the rival schools competed with each other. It is above all due to Paul Kahle that the main outlines of this process have become clear, and it is important that these should be briefly described. But first it is necessary to see how the changing history of the Hebrew language and of Hebrew writing played their part.

### *The Hebrew Characters*

The characters in which modern Hebrew manuscripts are written are not the same as those which were in use when the books of the Hebrew Scriptures were composed, and to which reference was made above, when dealing with the origins of

alphabetical writing (p. 28). In the time of the Hebrew kingdoms and later, Hebrew was written in the Phoenician or Canaanite script which, as we saw, can be traced back to the inscriptions in the Sinaitic Peninsula, and is used, in a modified form, for the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The Jewish story of the origin of the 'Assyrian' or 'square' script, as the later Hebrew characters are called, is that Ezra brought it back with him from Babylon, and that it was forthwith adopted for general use. This is only another instance of the common habit of tradition, to assign to a single man and a single moment a change which must have been spread over several generations. It is likely that the square script was developed from the Phoenician independently in Syria, and gradually adopted by the Jews when Aramaic replaced Hebrew as the vernacular tongue of the Jews in Palestine. Since the Samaritan Pentateuch was written in the old script, the change must have come after the expulsion of the Samaritans, and was certainly completed before New Testament times, since the saying "not one jot or tittle shall pass from the Law" can only refer to the square script in which the 'jot' (= *yod*) was the smallest letter. Since the Septuagint Pentateuch, which was translated during the third century B.C., seems to presuppose an original written in the Phoenician script, while the Greek Isaiah probably has as its basis a text written in a transitional form of the script, the change may date from c. 200 B.C. The reason for this is the evidence of confusion of similar letters—in the square script the equivalents of *h* and *t*, *r*, *d* and *w*, *w* and *i*, *b* and *k*.

The Old Phoenician script, however, did not entirely pass out of use. It is found on coins, no doubt from archaizing and nationalistic motives, as late as the Second Jewish Rebellion of A.D. 132–5, and in some of the Dead Sea fragments.

### *The Hebrew Language*

The language in which the manuscripts we are examining were written is, of course, Hebrew, a branch of the great Semitic family of languages, which includes the Babylonian, Assyrian, Phoenician, Arabic and other tongues. It was the spoken language of Palestine down to the time of the Exile; and even after that date, when Aramaic was adopted for ordinary use, Hebrew remained the literary language for educated Jews, and of course for the reading of the Scriptures in the synagogues. To what extent it had become to all intents a dead language for most Jews by New Testament

times, as is often assumed, is likely to be raised again now that letters and contracts written not in Aramaic but in Hebrew and belonging to the time of Bar Kochba (c. 135) have been discovered in the Murabba'at caves.

Hebrew is written from right to left, not from left to right as in our modern European books. But the special peculiarity of it is that in its original state only the consonants were written, the vowels being left to be filled in by the reader's mind. Moreover, as is normally the case with ancient documents, the words were not separated, or only by the sporadic use of dots or strokes. This works reasonably well when a living language is being used and the text is familiar. But once the language has ceased to be that of everyday speech the omission of vowels is one fertile cause of variations in the text (since doubts might often occur as to the proper vowels to be supplied to a group of consonants), and the possibility of alternative divisions of the same consonants is another. To take a parallel from English, the consonants BD might be read as b(a)d, b(a)d(e), b(e)d, b(ea)d, b(e)d(e), b(i)d, b(i)d(e), b(o)d(e), b(u)d, (a)b(i)d(e), (a)b(o)d(e), while the group BSTRNG might be divided as b(e) str(o)ng, b(e)st r(i)ng, or taken as one word b(e)st(i)rr(i)ng, and it is quite possible that in some cases the sense of the passage would not show for certain which was right. A glance at the notes of the Variorum Bible would show that this danger is far from imaginary; e.g. in Deut. xxviii. 22, either "sword" or "drought" may be read, according to the vowels supplied; in Judg. xv. 16, "heaps upon heaps" or "I have flayed them"; in Isa. xxvii. 7, "them that are slain by him" or "those that slew him"; in Amos vi. 12 the correct division of the text reads "will one plough the sea with oxen", which gives much better sense.

To some extent these difficulties were met by the use of some consonants to do the work of vowels—e.g. *waw* (w) for *o* and *u*, *yod* (y) for *i* and *e*—the so-called *scriptio plena*. When this practice began to be used has been debated among scholars, but it is already found very frequently in the St. Mark's Dead Sea scroll of Isaiah. In copies of the Scriptures in private circulation—and these would be more numerous than those used officially for worship—some such aids to reading would be necessary.

### *Scribes and Rabbis*

It has already been mentioned in connexion with the fixing of the Canon that after the destruction of the Jewish State the Jews

were left with their Scriptures as the one firm foundation of their national and religious consciousness. Moreover they had to meet the controversial attacks of Christians, who accused the Jews of deliberately altering the text of the Old Testament in an anti-Christian direction.<sup>1</sup> If only for these reasons the Jews were driven to a renewed study of the text in all its details, every word and every letter of which now assumed importance as part of the final revelation of the divine will. Not only were rules for the interpretation of the text drawn up by the famous Rabbi Hillel (died about A.D. 15). There was an imperative need that the text to be interpreted should be determined in view of the variant traditions current amongst the Jews. Foremost amongst the Rabbis at this time who are known to us was Rabbi Akiba, who displayed extraordinary ingenuity in finding a meaning, so to say, in every particle. His exegetical methods were applied by his pupil Aquila in a new Greek translation of the Old Testament which helped to replace the Septuagint, which was more and more regarded with suspicion in Jewish circles. Most important of all, the influence of Akiba is to be seen in the emergence of something like an authorized Hebrew text of the Old Testament, not yet completely fixed in all its details, and not at once driving out other forms. But it is significant that the text which forms the basis of Aquila's translation belongs to the same tradition which we find in the manuscripts of the tenth century and later. The process of standardization was a gradual one, and had to compete with other traditions in the different Rabbinical schools and centres of learning. The Massorettes, as we shall see, were well aware of such differences of tradition, which shows well enough that there was as yet no single text-form which was accepted everywhere.

The work of the scribes was not confined, as the English word would suggest, to the copying of the Scriptures with meticulous care (see below, p. 78). We gather from the New Testament that they were also experts in the exposition of the Law, and this side too is to be seen. Not only word-division, but the dividing of the text into paragraphs, and of the Law and the Prophets into sections for liturgical reading belong to this period. Doubtful passages were

<sup>1</sup> The most obvious case was Isaiah vii. 14, which in the Septuagint version had come to be taken as a prophecy of the Incarnation. But the Hebrew word *almah*, translated *parthenos* (virgin), means simply a young woman of marriageable age, as the Jews were not slow to point out. Justin Martyr (d. c. 165) complained that the Jews had altered the text of Ps. xcvi. 10, which in the Septuagint read "Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord hath reigned from the wood (i.e. the Cross)", though the last three words had never been part of the Hebrew.

indicated by dots or strokes, or by writing the letters in an unusual way, thus calling the reader's attention to them. Anthropomorphic or irreverent expressions were changed or toned down—e.g. Genesis xviii. 22 "Abraham was yet standing before Jahweh" for the original "Jahweh was yet standing before Abraham"; words with heathen connotations were replaced—e.g. "Baal" is changed to "bosheth" (shame) in proper names and elsewhere as at 2 Sam. xi. 21 (cf. Judg. vi. 32); and improprieties were smoothed over in reading with euphemisms. In these ways the scribes engaged in editorial work, though from doctrinal and reverential rather than properly critical motives in our sense. And of course scribal errors of the kind mentioned above (p. 50) continued to be made and reproduced within the accepted text.

### *The Massoretes*

As a consequence of the Second Jewish Revolt and the spread of Christianity, the centre of Rabbinical studies moved from Palestine to Babylonia, and in the schools first at Nehardea, and at Sura and Pumbedita, flourished until the ninth century and later. But the Moslem conquest of Palestine in 638 made possible a revival of Jewish life and culture in its ancient home, and the academy at Tiberias became especially famous as the headquarters of Biblical learning. It was in these schools, Eastern and Western, that the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds and Aramaic Targums were composed, and put into final shape. Most important of all, it was at Tiberias that the text of the Old Testament, which we find in Hebrew manuscripts from the ninth century and in our present Hebrew Bibles, was finally fixed and standardized. It is that which is called the Massoretic text.

The period of the Massoretes, as these scholars are called, is usually dated from about A.D. 500. The name is derived from the Hebrew word *Massorah*, meaning 'tradition', and was used in this sense by Rabbi Akiba in the second century when he said "massorah is a hedge for the Law". This brings us to the first aspect of their work—the accumulation and codification of the mass of traditional learning, handed down and enlarged by them, with which they embellished the manuscripts of the Old Testament. It took the form of annotations written around the text: the *massorah parva* at the side, and the *massorah magna* consisting of longer notes in the upper and lower margins (see Plate IX). The whole was then digested and arranged alphabetically at the end

of the Bible, and is known as the *massorah finalis*. This Massoretic material consists of grammatical notes, variant readings, verbal illustrations, mnemonics, and so forth, which do not enter into the ordinary sphere of textual criticism. The Massoretes numbered the verses, words, and letters of every book. They calculated the middle word and the middle letter of each. They enumerated verses which contained all the letters of the alphabet, or a certain number of them; and so on. These trivialities, as we may rightly consider them, had yet the effect of securing minute attention to the precise transmission of the text; and they are but a manifestation of an excessive respect for the sacred Scriptures which in itself deserves nothing but praise. The Massoretes were indeed anxious that not one jot nor tittle—not one smallest letter nor one tiny part of a letter—of the Law should pass away or be lost.

The greatest single work of the Massoretes, however, was the devising of methods of vocalization for the current pronunciation of the text. Until the beginning of this century very little was known about this. But as a result of a lifetime's work on the manuscripts and fragments from the Cairo Geniza, Paul Kahle has shown that the vocalization of the Massoretic text as we know it is only the latest and the survivor of several systems. In Babylonia Kahle distinguishes two stages: an early simple system of points above the consonants which seems to be related to that used in Nestorian Syriac; this was replaced by one more complex, using forms of Hebrew letters above the consonants as well as Nestorian signs. Altogether Kahle has identified over 120 examples of Biblical MSS. belonging to the Babylonian group, as well as Targums and Rabbinical writings. In Palestine similarly it is possible to distinguish two stages: the pre-Tiberian or 'Palestinian' system which is related to that used in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and is therefore Palestinian in origin; and that of the Tiberian school, which is written both above and (mostly) below the consonants. Eventually the Tiberian system superseded those of Palestine and Babylonia, and is now universally used. The Tiberian system is highly elaborate and, indeed, artificial, and is more than an aid to pronunciation. Behind it is a very complex scheme of grammatical rules, which were not simply systematized by the Massoretes, but to some extent invented by them. For, as Kahle has shown, the pronunciation which was fixed for all time was not that which was then normally used by Jews, but the *ideal* pronunciation as the Massoretes conceived it. It follows therefore

that Hebrew grammar, as it has been understood since the time of the Tiberian Massoretes, is different in detail from that of the Hebrew of Palestine in the first century, or at the time when the Old Testament books were written, or for that matter of the Babylonian Massoretes themselves. Indeed, Kahle has shown that not only the pronunciation but also the text-tradition of Babylonia differed from the tradition of Palestine—not substantially, it is true, but sufficient to show that the uniformity and identity was not so great as once was thought. The Tiberian Massoretes themselves were aware of variant readings, but so far were they from introducing alterations into the actual text of the sacred books that, even where the text was plainly wrong, they confined themselves to stating in the margin the reading which they held to be superior. Such variations were known by the name of *Q're* ('read') and *K'thib* ('written'), the latter being the reading of the text, and the former that of the margin, which was to be substituted for the other when the passage was read.

Finally the Massoretes added, in addition to the vowel signs, a complicated system of accents which not only served the purpose of what in modern books corresponds to punctuation (and therefore is another guide to the correct meaning of the text) but also indicates the 'cantillation'—i.e. the proper inflections of the voice in public reading.

#### *The Copying of Hebrew Manuscripts*

It was the Tiberian Massoretic text, vocalized, accented, and provided with marginal notes, which became the accepted norm for the Jews, to the exclusion of any other form of text. Extraordinary care was taken to secure perfect accuracy in the transcription of the sacred books. Especially was this the case with the *synagogue rolls*, or copies of the Pentateuch intended for use in the synagogues. These were written on skins, fastened together so as to form a roll, never in modern book-form. Minute regulations are laid down in the Talmud for their preparation. "A synagogue roll must be written on the skins of clean animals, prepared for the particular use of the synagogue by a Jew. These must be fastened together with strings taken from clean animals. Every skin must contain a certain number of columns, equal throughout the entire codex.<sup>1</sup> The length of each column must not extend over less than

<sup>1</sup> 'Codex' is a Latin word, meaning properly a manuscript arranged in modern book-form (see p. 41). It is, however, often used simply as equivalent to 'manuscript' generally, and especially of manuscripts of the Bible.

forty-eight, or more than sixty lines; and the breadth must consist of thirty letters. The whole copy must be first lined; and if three words be written in it without a line, it is worthless. The ink should be black, neither red, green, nor any other colour, and be prepared according to a definite receipt. An *authentic* copy must be the exemplar, from which the transcriber ought not in the least to deviate. No word or letter, not even a *yod*, must be written from memory, the scribe not having looked at the codex before him. . . . Between every consonant the space of a hair or thread must intervene; between every word the breadth of a narrow consonant; between every new *parashah*, or section, the breadth of nine consonants; between every book, three lines. The fifth book of Moses must terminate exactly with a line; but the rest need not do so. Besides this, the copyist must sit in full Jewish dress, wash his whole body, not begin to write the name of God with a pen newly dipped in ink, and should a king address him while writing that name he must take no notice of him. . . . The rolls in which these regulations are not observed are condemned to be buried in the ground or burned; or they are banished to the schools, to be used as reading-books."<sup>1</sup>

Private or common copies were not subject to such precise regulations. They are written in book-form, sometimes on vellum, sometimes on paper. Inks of various colours are used, and the size of the columns is not necessarily uniform. The Hebrew text is often accompanied by an Aramaic paraphrase, arranged either in a parallel column or between the lines of the Hebrew. In the upper and lower margins (generally speaking) the Great Massorah may be written; in the external side margins are notes, comments, corrections, and indications of the divisions of the text; between the columns is the Lesser Massorah. Vowel-points and accents, which are forbidden in synagogue rolls, are generally inserted in private copies; but they were always written separately, after the consonant text had been finished.

It is under conditions such as these that the Massoretic text has been handed down, from manuscript to manuscript, until the invention of printing. Now what of the actual manuscripts which are still in existence?

### *The Dead Sea Scrolls*

These epoch-making documents, as has been explained above, are the remains of the library of the Qumran community which

<sup>1</sup> Davidson, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1856, p. 89.



was dispersed shortly before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and consists of sectarian documents as well as Biblical scrolls and fragments. Those which concern the subject of this book are:

(a) The St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll (Isaiah A): part of the original discovery in Cave I; the text has been edited by Millar Burrows, J. C. Trever and W. H. Brownlee and published by the American Schools of Oriental Research in 1950. (See Plate VII.)

The MS. is made from seventeen sheets of leather joined together, and is about ten inches high and twenty-four feet long. The text is full of mistakes, some of which have been corrected by the original scribe, others in a later hand. There is extensive use of vowel letters, especially from chapter xxxiv onwards, though whether this implies that two scribes were engaged, or that chapters i-xxxiii were copied from a different MS., or simply that the scribe allowed himself more freedom in the latter part, has been disputed. The text belongs by and large to the same tradition as the Massoretic, though with many differences in detail. Among these may be mentioned iii. 24 (end) "instead of beauty shame"; vi. 3 where the seraphim cry "Holy" twice instead of thrice; xxi. 8 "then he who saw cried: upon a watchtower, O Lord, I stand . . ."; xxxiii. 8 "covenants are broken, witnesses are despised"; xlv. 16 "I am warm in front of the fire"; xlv. 19 "shall I fall down to a worn-out piece of wood"; xlix. 9 "they shall feed upon all the mountains"; l. 6 "I have not turned my face from shame"; li. 11 "and the scattered of the Lord shall return"; liii. 12 (end) "and made intercession for their transgressions". Other readings agree with the versions and confirm emendations to the Massoretic text which have been proposed by various scholars.<sup>1</sup> Not all of these are *better* readings than the Massoretic text, and many of them are trivial. But they show that even within the tradition of that text considerable variations were possible. It is interesting that the corrections by the later hand are generally towards agreement with the Massoretic text.

(b) The Hebrew University Isaiah Scroll (Isaiah B); also from Cave I, edited by E. L. Sukenik, *Osar Hammegilloth Haggenuzoth* (Jerusalem, 1954). It contains on one larger and two smaller

<sup>1</sup> Examples are: xiv. 4 "how the oppressor has ceased, the violent fury ceased"; xiv. 30 "I will kill your root with famine and your remnant I will slay", supported by the Latin; xlix. 24 "can the prey be taken from the mighty or the captives of a tyrant be rescued" with Syriac and Latin; li. 19 (end) "who will comfort you" with Septuagint, Syriac and Latin; lx. 19 "neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee by night" with Septuagint, Old Latin and Aramaic.

pieces of leather parts of chapters x, xiii, xix-xxx, xxxv-end (with some gaps). The text is in close agreement with the Massoretic text. It is probably a century or more later in date than (a).

(c) The Habakkuk Commentary contains the text of the first two chapters of the book, but omits the third, which may support the view of some scholars that this last chapter (a psalm in the form of a prayer) is a later addition. The text, like that of Isaiah A, differs frequently from the Massoretic text in small details of spelling, etc. Apart from this, there are about fifty variants mostly of trivial importance; i. 17, supported by the versions reads as a direct statement, and instead of "he empties his net" has "he bares his sword"; ii. 5 reads "wealth (instead of 'wine') is treacherous"; ii. 16 has "drink and stagger" for "drink and be uncircumcised"—here agreeing with an emendation proposed by a modern scholar.

(d) Fragments of Daniel from Cave I show the same change from Hebrew to Aramaic at ii. 4 as the Massoretic text, with which they generally agree. From the same cave are fragments of Leviticus xix-xxii written in the Old Phoenician script, and also of the book of Jubilees.

(e) Fragments from Cave IV. Potentially the richest hoard has come from Cave IV, which has yielded tens of thousands of fragments, besides which it is more than likely that quantities of manuscript material are still in the hands of the Arabs. But since they were buried about three feet below the modern floor-level of the cave, many of them are in an advanced state of disintegration. The work of cleaning and piecing together is itself a slow and laborious process which will take years to complete, apart from the editing and publication of the texts, which is only now beginning.

Altogether the remains of about 330 manuscripts have been recognized so far, rather less than one-third of them being Biblical. Every book of the Old Testament is present except Esther, and some of them in profusion—e.g. fragments of thirteen manuscripts of Deuteronomy, twelve of Isaiah, ten of Psalms, seven of the Minor Prophets. There are also fragments of the Septuagint, showing that the Greek version was by no means confined to the Diaspora. Of the texts already published the following are the most notable. Two fragmentary scrolls of Samuel are known, the first (Samuel A) originally consisted of fifty-seven columns, and of these twenty-seven of 1 Samuel and all twenty-four of 2 Samuel are represented. The text is much closer to the Septuagint Codex Vaticanus than to the present Massoretic

text, and shows that, far from being a loose paraphrase as has been supposed, the Septuagint was a faithful and literal translation of one form of the Hebrew text of these books. The second Samuel scroll (Samuel B) survives in seven fragments containing 1 Sam. xvi. 1-11, xix. 10-17, xxi. 3-7, 8-10, xxiii. 9-17, and, like Samuel A, is close to the Septuagint, though it has also many original readings. Exodus provides fragments of vi. 29-xxxvii. 15, and is remarkable for its alignment with the Samaritan recension, most notably in the expansions after vii. 18, 29, viii. 19 and elsewhere, which are especially characteristic of that version. Part of the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii. 37-43), like the Samuel fragments, is close to the Septuagint, and here again the alleged looseness of the latter is seen to be a careful following of an original Hebrew text. On the other hand there are fragments of Numbers which combine both Septuagint and Samaritan readings. There are also parts of a beautifully written scroll of Ecclesiastes, dated about the middle of the second century B.C., showing that this book was already in common use at that time.

(f) *The Murabba'at Caves.* The largest Biblical find from this quarter is a scroll of the Minor Prophets, much damaged and blackened by damp, but recognizably a roll and susceptible of decipherment by infra-red photography. There are also small fragments of Genesis xxxii-xxxiv, Exodus, Deuteronomy, and the beginning of Isaiah. All these are in close agreement with the Massoretic text, but this is in part accounted for by the fact they are at least seventy years later than the Qumran Scrolls, and belong to the period of the Second Revolt (c. A.D. 135), and of Rabbi Akiba, who supported the Jewish leader Bar Kochba.

It is certain that when all the fragments from these caves have been published, a great deal of light will be thrown on the early history of the Hebrew text which previously has been largely a matter of conjecture. But it seems likely that the Old Testament—or a large part of it—existed in more than one textual form. Already we have evidence from the caves of three types of Hebrew text: that which subsequently becomes known to us as the Massoretic text; that which is represented by the Samaritan Pentateuch; and that which formed the basis of the Septuagint version. Far from being aberrant versions, therefore, the Samaritan recension and the Septuagint (at any rate in the Pentateuch and in the historical books) are restored as important witnesses to the early forms of the Hebrew as it was used in Palestine itself.

*Cairo Geniza Fragments*

The discovery of these important fragments, and their bearing on the history of the text and the work of the Massoretes, has already been described in some detail (see p. 70 above). Of most interest for the general reader are the fragments of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, previously unknown in its original language, covering about two-thirds of the book. (See below, p. 150.)

*Later Manuscripts*

It is not necessary to enumerate and describe any considerable number of individual Hebrew manuscripts. When we come to speak of the Greek text, whether of the Old or the New Testament, we shall find it both interesting and important to describe the chief manuscripts with some minuteness in respect of age, their comparative value, and the groups or families into which they fall. In none of these respects is it possible to distinguish effectively between the great mass of Hebrew manuscripts. Since all represent the same kind of text, and none is conspicuously older than the rest, there is not the same opportunity for marked pre-eminence.

*Classification of Hebrew MSS.*

The points to be taken into consideration in examining a Hebrew manuscript are the following; but it will be seen that their importance is not very great. First, whether it was intended for public or private use; since those intended for the service of the synagogue, like the great leather rolls of the Law, are most likely to be accurately copied. Next, its age; but on this head it is difficult to arrive at any certainty. Many manuscripts contain a statement of their date; but these statements are extremely misleading and of doubtful authenticity. Sometimes we do not know by what era the date is calculated; sometimes the date is evidently that of the manuscript from which it was copied, not of the manuscript itself; sometimes, unfortunately, the date is simply fraudulent. And it is not possible always to test such statements by the handwriting of the manuscript, as can generally be done with Greek writings. The best authorities differ so widely (in the case of one well-known manuscript, one good authority assigns it to the tenth century, and another to the fourteenth, while another copy has been assigned to various dates between the sixth and the fifteenth centuries) as to prove that the science of dating Hebrew writing

is very imperfect. It is more possible to distinguish the country in which a manuscript has been written—Germany, Spain, Italy, and so forth. But even so our advantage is small in view of the uniformity of the Massoretic tradition. Finally, manuscripts may be distinguished as Eastern (Babylonian) or Western (Palestinian or Tiberian) which, as we have seen, had their own text-traditions and systems of punctuation. And, as we have already noted, Hebrew manuscripts may be classified as scrolls used for public reading in the synagogue, of parchment or leather, containing the unpointed text of the Pentateuch, and codices of the whole or parts of the Old Testament, pointed and written for private use.

*The Chief Extant MSS.*

Any account of the principal Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament must begin with Moses ben Asher and his son Aaron ben Moses ben Asher. These two were the last in the line of a family of Tiberian Massoretes which can be traced back to the second half of the eighth century A.D. This was the period of the rise of the Karaites, a kind of 'back to the Bible' movement which, setting itself against the prevailing Rabbinical exegesis, helped greatly to stimulate the study of the actual text of the Old Testament—in the words of the founder "search ye well the Torah and do not rely on my opinion". The Karaites thus played their part in the movement towards fixing the Tiberian text, which in turn has been transmitted to us in manuscripts actually prepared by Moses ben Asher and his son. It is another aspect of Paul Kahle's great contribution to these studies that this last chapter of the Massoretic history can clearly be told. The ben Asher manuscripts are:

(1) A codex of the Former and Latter Prophets with vocalization and Massorah written by Moses ben Asher in Tiberias for a Karaite Ya'bes ben Shelomo, in A.D. 895. It was presented by its owner to the Karaite community in Jerusalem, and after the capture of the Holy City by the Crusaders in 1099 passed to the Karaite synagogue in Cairo, where it now is. A photograph is in Berlin.

(2) The Aleppo Codex of the complete Old Testament, the consonantal text written by Shelomo ben Buya'a, which was corrected and provided with punctuation and Massorah by Aaron ben Asher about A.D. 930. It was given to the Karaites in Jerusalem about the middle of the eleventh century, was taken to Cairo about the same time as (1), and reached Aleppo before the middle of the fifteenth century. It was seen by Maimonides, the

great Jewish authority, at the end of the twelfth century and approved by him. If available, this would be the final authority for the Tiberian text of the whole Bible. Unfortunately the synagogue authorities would allow it neither to be copied nor photographed, and it is now reported to be destroyed.

(3) British Museum Codex of the Pentateuch, numbered *Or.* 4445, containing Gen. xxxix. 20–Deut. i. 33. It is not dated, and was thought to belong to the middle of the ninth century. It was described in former editions of this book as probably the oldest manuscript now in existence of any part of the Hebrew Bible. Kahle has shown that it is about a century later, and represents an early form of the ben Asher text (Plate XI).

(4) The Leningrad complete Old Testament, written, according to the colophon, in 1008 and copied “from the corrected clear books prepared by the Master Aaron ben Moses ben Asher”. Ginsburg assumed that the original was the Aleppo Codex, but Kahle shows that it was copied from another ben Asher codex, now lost, which was in Egypt about A.D. 1000. This codex has been selected as the basic text of the fourth edition of Kittel’s Hebrew Bible, as being the oldest and best representative available of the ben Asher recension of the complete Old Testament, where it appears under the sign L.

These are not the only manuscripts of the ben Asher recension: among others listed by Kahle are a Pentateuch scroll of A.D. 930 by the same hand as the Aleppo Codex, and others of 943 and 946; Prophets dated 946 and 989; and a Hagiographa of 994—all at Leningrad.

Mention should also be made of:

(5) The famous Leningrad Codex of the Prophets, written with Babylonian punctuation in 916, and thus one of the oldest existing manuscripts. But to quote the Preface to Kittel’s *Biblica Hebraica* “it is provided with a Tiberian Massorah and has been assimilated in its punctuation to the Tiberian-punctuated manuscripts to such an extent that all important variants have been eliminated”. However, no less than 184 fragments of Babylonian manuscripts are cited in the latest edition of Kittel.

(6) Reuchlin Codex of the Prophets, dated A.D. 1105, now at Karlsruhe, which, like the British Museum manuscript *Ad.* 21161 (c. A.D. 1150), contains a text in the recension of ben Naphtali, another Tiberian Massorete. The differences between ben Naphtali and ben Asher were studied and described by Mishael ben Uzziel in the tenth century, who cites more than 800 of them.

His work has been of great assistance in verifying the fidelity of the Leningrad Old Testament and other copies of the ben Asher text. Moreover, although the ben Asher text came to be universally adopted, that of ben Naphtali was not without its effect, and in fourteenth-century and later manuscripts a compromise text of the two traditions is found. It is manuscripts of this mixed type which provided the basis of the early printed Hebrew Bibles.

#### *MSS. now Lost*

One other source of knowledge for the Hebrew text should, however, be mentioned—namely, readings quoted in the Middle Ages from manuscripts since lost. The chief of these is a manuscript known as the Codex Hillelis, which was at one time supposed to date back to the great teacher Hillel, before the time of our Lord. It is, however, probable that it was really written after the sixth century. It was used by a Jewish scholar in Spain, and a considerable number of its readings have been preserved by references to it in various writers. Other lost manuscripts are sometimes quoted, but less often, and their testimony is less important.

#### *The Printed Hebrew Text*

The first portion of the Hebrew Bible to appear in print was the Psalms, which issued from the press, probably at Bologna in Italy, in 1477. The first complete Old Testament followed in 1488, at Soncino. Both these editions were due to Jews. The first edition prepared by a Christian scholar was that which appeared in the great Bible printed by Cardinal Ximenes at Alcala (and hence known as the Complutensian Bible, from *Complutum*, the Latin name of Alcala), in Spain, during the years 1514-17. In this Bible the Hebrew, Greek and Latin Vulgate texts were printed side by side, together with the Aramaic Targum of Onkelos for the Pentateuch; it forms, as will be seen more fully hereafter, a most important landmark in the story of the beginnings of Biblical study in modern Europe, and was employed by Tyndale in his translation of the Old Testament into English. These multiple texts, or Polyglots, were enormous undertakings, and three others appeared: the Antwerp Polyglot of 1569-72; the Paris Polyglot edited in ten volumes by de Jay, 1629-45; and greatest of all the London Polyglot brought out by Brian Walton, later bishop of Chester, in six folio volumes between 1654 and 1657, containing the Hebrew with interlinear Latin translation and Targum; the Samaritan Pentateuch and Targum; the Syriac, the Arabic, the

Septuagint—each of these with its Latin translation—together with the Vulgate and fragments of the Old Latin. (Plates X, XI.) In the New Testament Walton gives the Greek text with apparatus and an interlinear translation in Latin; the Vulgate; and the Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian (in the Gospels), each accompanied by Latin translations. The whole is rounded off by a Lexicon of all the Oriental languages used and a comparative Semitic grammar!

The first Hebrew Bible with full vowel-points and accents, and including Targums and Rabbinical material, was published by Daniel Bomberg at Venice in four volumes 1516–17. The second edition of this, edited by a Tunisian Jew, ben Chayyim, appeared 1524–5, and became the *textus receptus* for printed Hebrew Bibles down to 1929. It is based on late manuscripts, and since he followed none exclusively, the text frequently deviates from the ben Asher recension.

It was not, however, until the end of the eighteenth century that scholars fairly took a hand in the critical study of the Hebrew text in a scientific way. The first collection of evidence was made by an Englishman, Benjamin Kennicott, canon of Christ Church, Oxford, who, as was mentioned above, published from the University Press between 1776 and 1780 the readings of 615 manuscripts (giving, however, only the consonants without vowel-points) and of over fifty printed editions. In 1784–8 the Italian scholar de Rossi published collations of more than 730 manuscripts and 300 printed editions with details of vocalization. It was as a result of these immense labours that the conclusion was drawn that all Hebrew manuscripts represent the Massoretic text without substantial variation. Unfortunately the materials with which they worked were late, and we have seen that this view is untenable. Nevertheless their lists of manuscripts are still invaluable. A critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, “diligently revised according to the Massorah and the early editions, with the various readings from MSS. and the ancient versions”, occupied Dr. C. D. Ginsburg for many years and was published in 1894, and again by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1926. But this has now been superseded by the work of R. Kittel and P. Kahle, the third edition of whose *Biblia Hebraica*, completed by A. Alt and O. Eissfeldt, was published by the Württemberg Bibelanstalt at Stuttgart in 1937. In this and later editions the Leningrad Codex provides the basic text with the small Massorah of ben Asher in the margin, while the seventh edition (1951) includes the variants of the Dead Sea scroll of Isaiah and the Habakkuk Commentary.



It is thus an indispensable tool for the serious study of the Hebrew Bible.

### *Summary of Results*

The result of our examination of the Hebrew text is, then, this. We have manuscripts which give us in a very pure form the text as it finally became standardized in the Massoretic school at Tiberias in the eighth to tenth centuries. Thanks also to the work of Paul Kahle on the Cairo Geniza fragments we can trace the work of other Massoretic scholars in Palestine and Babylonia. The discovery of the Dead Sea manuscripts has disclosed that, during the last two centuries B.C. and the first A.D. the Hebrew text was more fluid than had been supposed, but nevertheless what was later to become the Massoretic text already existed in an early form. We may therefore be satisfied that the text of our Old Testament has been handed down in *one* line without serious change since the beginning of the Christian era and even before. The question which now meets us is this: Does this Hebrew text which we call Massoretic faithfully represent the Hebrew text as originally written by the authors of the Old Testament books? Or do the differences which we find, for example, in the Dead Sea documents and the Septuagint, represent other and perhaps older and better traditions than that which we find in the Massoretic text? To answer this question it is necessary to bring up our second line of authorities, described in Chapter III. We must refer to those translations of the Old Testament into other languages which were made at an early period when the evidence from Hebrew manuscripts is non-existent or incomplete. We must see what they can tell us about the Hebrew text from which they were translated, and examine the extent and credibility of that evidence. In this way alone can we hope, even partially, to bridge over the gap in our knowledge between the actual composition of the books of the Old Testament and the text whose history has been traced in the present chapter.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

#### §1. THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH

##### *Its Origin*

The text of the Pentateuch which possesses the longest pedigree is that which owes its existence to the Samaritans. Strictly speaking it is not a version at all, as it is in the Hebrew tongue, though written in a somewhat degenerate form of the Old Canaanite or Phoenician script, such as it was before the adoption by the Jews of the square characters, as described in the last chapter (p. 72). The precise origin of this separate Samaritan Bible has been a subject of disputes; but the trend of events which led to the eventual separation of the Samaritans from the Jews—the culmination of an ancient rivalry which goes back centuries earlier—can be traced in the later chapters of the books of Kings and in Ezra-Nehemiah. When the Northern Kingdom fell in 722 B.C. the Assyrians deported the more responsible and well-to-do elements in the population and replaced them with foreign settlers from other parts of the Assyrian Empire (2 Kings xvii. 24). But the majority of the people were allowed to remain, and continued to practise their religion and so far as we know to remain on reasonably friendly terms with their brethren in Judah. When Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem in 586 B.C. he carried off to Babylon “the leading men of the land” (2 Kings xxiv. 15–16) and it was among these exiles, striving to maintain themselves and their national and religious identity, that the purified but also narrower and more exclusive Judaism of the late priestly laws developed. It was perhaps to be expected that when, under Nehemiah and Ezra, the exiles returned and set to work to restore the Temple and its worship, not to what they were before, but in accordance with the beliefs and ideas which had taken shape in Babylonia, hostility would break out between them and the “people of the land”. The Samaritans, as we must now call them, were in the eyes of the returned exiles of mixed and somewhat dubious ancestry, and their religion contaminated with foreign and heathen practices, and in spite of offers of co-operation

(Ezra iv. 2) the breach widened, leading to complete rupture and the bitter enmity between Jew and Samaritan which we find in the New Testament. Exactly when the separation or 'schism' took place it is hard to determine exactly, since no mention is made of it in the Old Testament, but it was some time during the fourth century B.C. Their Temple on Mount Gerizim is said to have been built about 330 B.C., which if true gives us the latest date for the schism. On the other hand, it is hardly likely to have been before the final editing of the Pentateuch, *c.* 400 B.C., since this, with certain alterations (notably the substitution of Gerizim for Ebal in Deut. xxvii. 4 as the hill on which the memorial altar should be placed), is the sacred book of the Samaritans. As we have seen in the last chapter, this was the only part of the Old Testament which at that time had been definitely recognized as inspired Scripture by the Jews themselves; and when the Prophets and Hagiographa were subsequently added to the Canon, the Samaritans refused to accept them. They refused also to accept the square Hebrew characters adopted by the Jews, and we may be quite certain that they would pay little respect to any alterations in the text which were made by Jewish scribes and scholars after the date of the original secession.

### *Its Discovery*

So far, then, it appears as if we had, in the Samaritan Pentateuch, an invaluable means of testing the extent of the variation which the Hebrew text had undergone since the fourth or fifth century B.C. We have a tradition quite independent of the activities of the scribes and Massoretes, kept apart from any modifications of an accidental or dogmatic kind which may have crept into the text in Jewish hands, preserving the original form of writing and thereby avoiding one considerable source of possible error and corruption. Moreover the fact that the Samaritan community has for most of its history been small, and not dispersed into many separate communities like the Jews, has made the danger of corruption so much the less. No wonder that when, in 1616, the first copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch came to light many scholars thought that they had obtained evidence for the original text of the Old Testament far preferable to that of the Hebrew manuscripts. The Samaritan community had existed since the days of Sargon of Assyria until then, and it exists still, a little community now of less than a hundred persons, settled at Nablus, the ancient Shechem, still observing the Mosaic Law and still

celebrating the Passover on Mount Gerizim; but none of their sacred books had come to light until, in that year, a copy was obtained by Pietro della Valle. Other copies have since been secured by travellers and are now in European libraries. The first printed edition was issued in the Paris Polyglot Bible in 1632, and for centuries a hot controversy raged among Biblical scholars as to the comparative value of the Samaritan and Hebrew text. In 1815 it appeared to be settled by an elaborate examination of all the variations by the great Hebrew scholar Gesenius, whose verdict was wholly against the Samaritan version. But more recent views, which see the Massoretic as only one line in the transmission of the text, and notably the striking agreement of some of the Dead Sea fragments with Samaritan readings, have disposed some scholars to find in the Samaritan Pentateuch one of the best preserved traditions of the Hebrew text.

### *Its Character*

The Samaritan text has been estimated to differ from the Hebrew in about 6,000 places. The great majority of these are of very trifling importance, consisting of pronunciation and grammatical variants, the substitution of Samaritan for Hebrew idiom (though some of these may be the survival of old Northern Israelitish dialectical forms), and the like. There is also a considerable use of 'vowel letters'. Others are alterations of substance so as to suit Samaritan ideas of ritual and religion, such as Deut. xxvii. 4 (quoted above), the insertion of Deut. xi. 29-30 and xxvii. 2-7 (as amended) after Exod. xx. 17 and Deut. v. 21; and in twenty-one instances the reading "the place which Jahweh *has chosen*" with reference to Shechem, which was already a sanctuary in the days of Abraham, instead of "the place which Jahweh shall choose" referring to Jerusalem, which became the central sanctuary in the time of David. Others contain supplements of apparent deficiencies with the help of similar passages in other books, repetition of speeches and the like from parallel passages, the removal of obscurities or insertion of explanatory words or sentences, or distinct differences of reading. In all these latter cases there may evidently be two opinions as to whether the Samaritan or the Hebrew reading is preferable. The apparent deficiency in the Hebrew may be real, the obscurities may be due to error, and the Samaritan text may be nearer to the original language. This probability is greatly increased if we find that in passages where the Samaritan version differs from the Hebrew it is

supported by the Greek Septuagint version (of which we shall speak presently), as is said to be the case about 1,600 times, or by one of the other older versions, or by the Dead Sea texts. For example, the Samaritan and Hebrew texts differ very frequently as to the ages of the patriarchs mentioned in Genesis v. and xi. Gesenius classified these variations as alterations introduced on the grounds of suitability; but it is at least possible that they are not alterations at all, but the original text, and that the numbers have been corrupted in the Hebrew; and this possibility is turned into a probability when we find the Septuagint in some instances and the Dead Sea Scrolls in others supporting the Samaritan reading. There is no satisfactory proof of either the Septuagint or the Samaritan text having been corrected from the other, nor is it in itself likely; and their independent evidence is difficult to explain away. Again, in Genesis v. the Samaritan chronology agrees with that of the book of Jubilees, which in turn was familiar to the Qumran community. It is quite clear that we have here different traditions which go back to the time long before the fixing of the Massoretic text, and in such cases scholars are now disposed to weigh carefully Samaritan readings. The editors of the Variorum Bible give thirty-five variations of the Samaritan text in the five books of the Pentateuch as being equal or superior to the Hebrew readings, and later scholars would no doubt add others. Among these may be mentioned, for the sake of example, Gen. iv. 8, where the Samaritan has, "Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go into the field"; Gen. xxi. 13, "also the son of the handmaid will I make a *great* nation"; Gen. xxix. 3, 8, "shepherds" instead of "flocks"; Gen. xlvii. 21, "As for the people he made slaves of them", instead of "he removed them to cities"; Exod. xii. 40, the 430 years of the sojourning of the children of Israel are said to have been in Egypt *and in Canaan* (thus agreeing with Gal. iii. 17), instead of in Egypt only; Num. iv. 14, the following words are added at the end of the verse, "And they shall take a cloth of purple, and cover the laver and his foot, and put it into a covering of seals' skins, and shall put them upon a frame"; and in Deut. xxxii. 35 the first half of the verse runs, "against the day of vengeance and recompence; against the time when their foot shall slip". These are perhaps the most notable of the Samaritan variants, and it is observable that in every case the Septuagint confirms them.

The general results of the comparison of this and the other versions will be reserved to the end of the chapter; meanwhile it

will be sufficient to observe that in the Samaritan Pentateuch we have preserved a form of the Hebrew text of greater antiquity than that of any Hebrew manuscript, and that when allowance has been made for deliberate alteration and the accidents of transmission, its readings must be reckoned with, and when supported by one of the ancient versions or the Dead Sea manuscripts its evidence must be taken very seriously indeed.

### *Its Manuscripts*

The Samaritans were even more stringent than the Jews in the preparation of leather or vellum for their manuscripts of the Scriptures. Only the skins of animals which had been sacrificed as peace-offerings were allowed to be used.

No manuscript of the Samaritan Bible (so far as is known) is older than the tenth century. It is true that the Samaritan community at Nablus cherishes a precious roll, which it maintains to have been written by Abisha, the great-grandson of Moses, in the thirteenth year after the conquest of Canaan; but this story, which rests on the authority of an inscription said to be found in the MS. itself, may very safely be dismissed.<sup>1</sup> All the existing manuscripts of the Samaritan version are written on either vellum or paper, in the shape of books, not rolls, with the exception of three rolls at

<sup>1</sup> There is much mystery about this MS. It has never been examined by any competent authority, nor have the columns containing the inscription been photographed. An ancient roll used to be shown to visitors, but it was said that this was not the real roll of Abisha, which was kept secret. In 1926, however, all antiquities in Palestine had to be registered with the Department of Antiquities, to secure ownership. At that time I happened to visit Nablus with the Director of Antiquities, and was shown what purported to be the original roll (as well as others), and even the inscription was pointed out to me. This is not written at the beginning or end of the MS. but (according to a special Samaritan practice) was inserted, acrostic-wise, in the middle of several consecutive columns of the text, by isolating selected letters about the middle of each line. Such an inscription could not be inserted later, though it might be possible to alter letters. The roll was of thin vellum (not leather, as one would expect in the case of the age suggested), rather tattered, and had a distinctly medieval appearance to my eye. Subsequently some photographs were sent to me, which were certified by Dr. L. A. Mayer, of the Jerusalem Department of Antiquities, as being taken from the oldest MS. One of these is reproduced as Plate XII. Unfortunately they did not include the columns with the inscription. In the expert opinion of Sir A. Cowley, the hand shown in these photographs is of a thirteenth-century type, certainly not materially older. The knobs on the rollers are not relevant, since they are removed when the roll is put away, and can be attached to other rolls. The photographs have been presented to the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum. According to Sir A. Cowley, the Samaritan historian Abulfath says that the roll of Abisha was 'discovered' in 1355 by the High Priest Phinehas b. Joseph. Probably its real date is not much earlier than that.

Nabius, without any vowel-points or accents, but with punctuation to divide words and sentences. The whole of the Pentateuch is divided into 964 paragraphs.

There is another Samaritan MS. which is dated according to its own testimony A.D. 1211-12, and is now in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, where older fragments of the Samaritan text are also to be found. What is probably the oldest Samaritan MS. in codex-form is in the University Library at Cambridge, which contains a note that it was sold in A.D. 1149-50, and in the opinion of Paul Kahle may have been written some centuries earlier.

The most recent printed edition is that of A. von Gall (Giessen, 1914-18) in five volumes, based on eighty MSS. and fragments of varying dates. The text is in Hebrew characters.

## § 2. THE ARAMAIC TARGUMS

Aramaic, traditionally the language of Syria, became in Old Testament times the lingua franca of most of the peoples from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean coast—and indeed continued to be so until the Arab conquests in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. As we see from the story in 2 Kings xviii. 17 ff. ‘the Syrian language’, as it is called, was understood by the court officials in Jerusalem, to whom it was familiar as the language of diplomacy, but not by the common people. The change came with the loss of Jewish national independence. In Babylonia the exiles were forced to adopt Aramaic, and under the Persian Empire it was the official language of the western provinces, so that in Palestine also Aramaic became more and more the language of everyday life. By New Testament times the process was pretty well complete, and the ‘Hebrew’ which Jesus and his disciples spoke, and in which St. Paul addressed the crowd from the castle stairs after his arrest in the Temple (Acts xxi. 40) was a Palestinian dialect of Aramaic. Meanwhile the ancient Hebrew remained as the language in which the sacred books were written, and in which they were read in public worship, being studied and preserved among the educated and literary classes of the Jews, but becoming less and less familiar to the common folk. Hence arose a necessity of paraphrasing the Scriptures into the current Aramaic tongue. At first these paraphrases were simply given by word of mouth, extemporaneously and verse by verse in the synagogue service, and were quite unofficial and varied from place to place.

Subsequently these paraphrases were written down and are known as 'Targums' the word itself meaning 'translation'. In the form in which we now have them they represent accumulated layers of tradition, going back to a time before the foundation of Christianity, of which they show no knowledge; but they did not reach their present form until a much later date, probably the fifth century A.D. As was the case with the Hebrew and the other versions, the fixed text was not the beginning but the end of a long process, in which differences of reading, corresponding to differences of origin and tradition, were eventually smoothed out. The earliest mention of a Targum is that on Job in the first century A.D., though whether this indicates that by this time Targums of all the earlier books were in existence, or that the books not used in public worship, like Job, were paraphrased first, is a matter of opinion. At any rate the evidence suggests that the use of written Targums in public worship was at first resisted, although their use for private reading was allowed. Moreover, since they were aids to the popular understanding of the text, they tended to be more than simply translations or even paraphrases; they accumulated more extended interpretations and illustrative exegesis, and in accordance with the theological tendencies of the time avoided direct mention of the Divine Name, anthropomorphisms and so on. The Targums are thus important evidence for Jewish theological thought in the period, quite apart from their textual interest.

The Targums exist in a number of forms corresponding to their Palestinian or Babylonian provenance. (1) *The Pentateuch*: (a) *The Old Palestinian Targum*. From among the fragments of the Cairo Geniza, some of them as early as the sixth century A.D., Paul Kahle has demonstrated the existence of an Old Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch which in its time enjoyed wide popularity, being copied as late as the ninth century. Here we see a Targum at an earlier stage, as it was before it became standardized as an authorized version. It is clear from a comparison of the fragments, which show important differences, that the text was not yet fixed, and it has expansions of a homiletic and interpretative kind which were later removed. Moreover the language, in contrast to that of the later Targums, which are stilted and artificial, is spoken Aramaic. (b) *The Jerusalem Targum*—also called the Palestinian Targum. This is a later form of the Old Palestinian Targum but virtually complete, and while it preserves a good deal of the older illustrative material, it has been assimilated to the

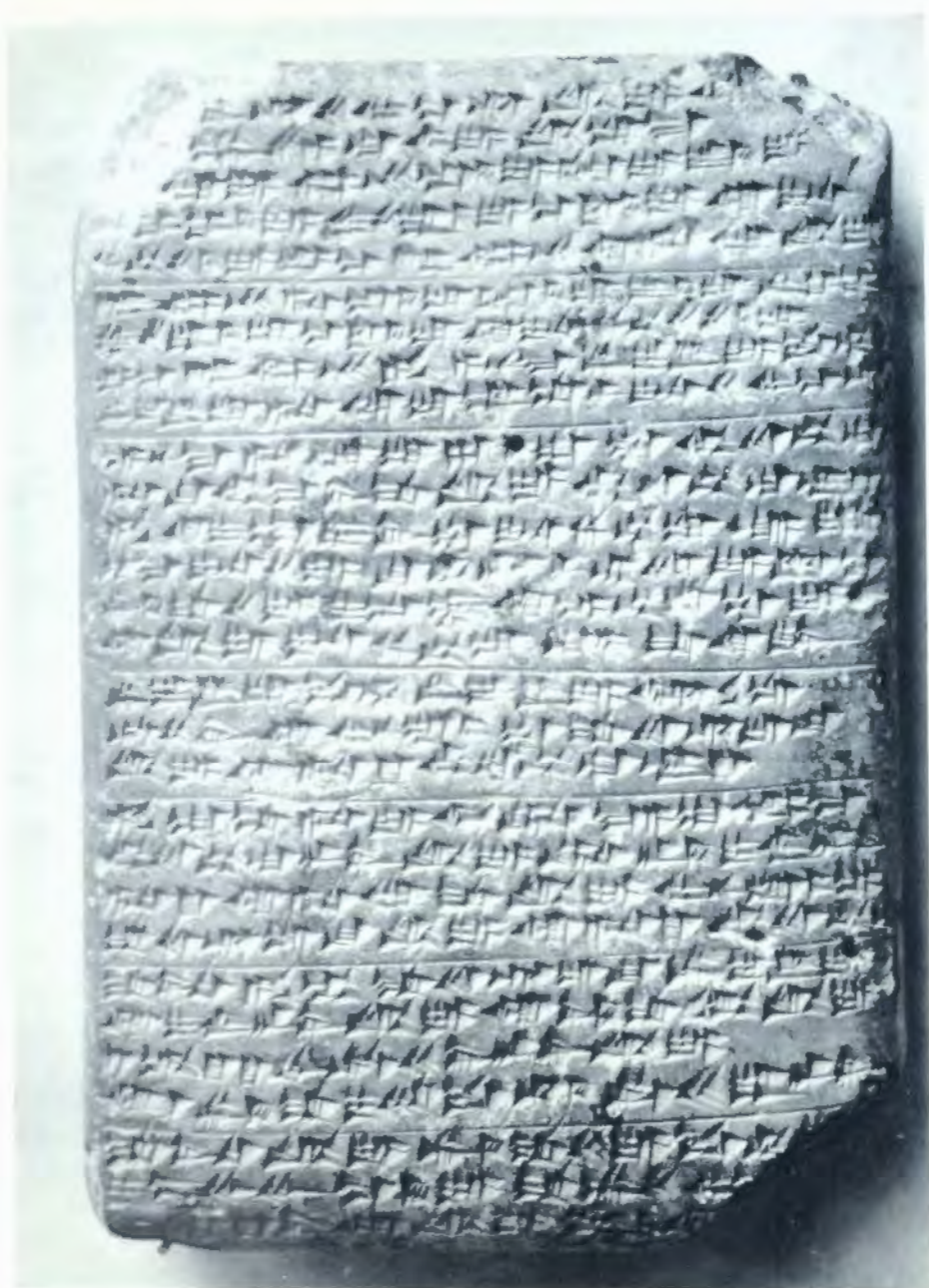


Babylonian version. It was later wrongly ascribed to Jonathan (see below) through a misinterpretation of the abbreviated title 'Targum J', and is thus also known as 'pseudo-Jonathan'.

(c) *The Babylonian Targum Onkelos*. Here we have the official revised version of the Targum of the Pentateuch as it took final shape in the Babylonian schools in the fifth century A.D. The translation has been brought much closer into line with the Massoretic text and purged of all explanatory and paraphrastic accretions. Who Onkelos was has been much disputed, but the name is almost certainly a reference to Aquila, who made a very literal translation of the Old Testament into Greek (see below, p. 103) and was probably connected by the Babylonian scholars with the Targum they knew. At any rate, the Targum Onkelos corresponds closely in method and outlook with Aquila's Greek version—it is extremely literal, even pedantically so, abounds in Hebraisms, and is provided with a Massorah like the Hebrew Bible. Eventually it replaced all other forms of the Targum, though by the time it was completely accepted in the West Aramaic had given way to Arabic as the spoken language of Palestine.

(2) *The Prophets*. The Targums on the Prophets correspond to those of the Pentateuch. Fragments of manuscripts show that early and varying translations into Aramaic existed side by side, and were finally replaced by an authorized version from the Babylonian schools. This is the Targum Jonathan. And just as the Targum of the Pentateuch was connected with Aquila, the Targum of the Prophets in the second century was associated with Theodotion, who was also responsible for a Greek version of the Old Testament, and of whose name Jonathan is a Hebrew form. Later the Targum was attributed to Jonathan ben Uzziel, a pupil of the famous Rabbi Hillel in the first century A.D. Targum Jonathan is not so stilted as Onkelos, and preserves more of the older illustrations and exegetical material.

(3) *The Hagiographa*. The Targums of these books are of very mixed style and date. As has been mentioned above, the Targum on Job is mentioned in the first century A.D., and it is significant that in the oldest manuscripts of the Septuagint there is a note at the end of Job xlii. 17 which reads, "This is translated from the Syrian book"—i.e. from the Aramaic Targum. There is a similar relation between the Greek Proverbs and the Targum, which in turn stands in close relation to the Peshitta Syriac version. Again, the fact that Jesus, according to Matt. xxvii. 46, quoted Ps. xxii in Aramaic suggests that a Targum on the Psalter was already in existence. On the other hand the Targums



Clay Tablet from Tell El-Amarna Cuneiform Letter - *circa* 1380 B.C.  
*British Museum*



Hittite Inscriptions: (left) Cuneiform Tablet, *Berlin State Museum*  
(right) Hieroglyphic Inscription, *British Museum*





Cretan Linear B Inscription  
*Ashmolean Museum*

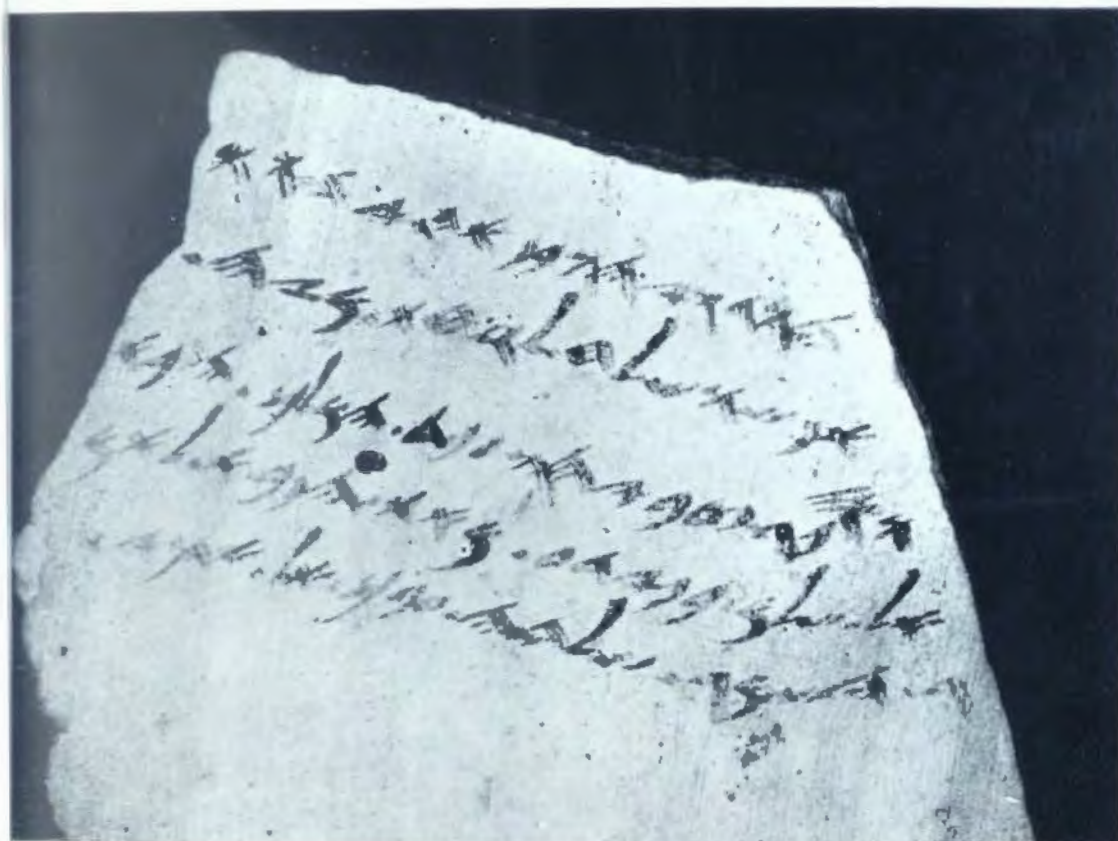


(i) Hebrew Calendar from Gezer. Phoenician Script—*circa* tenth century B.C.

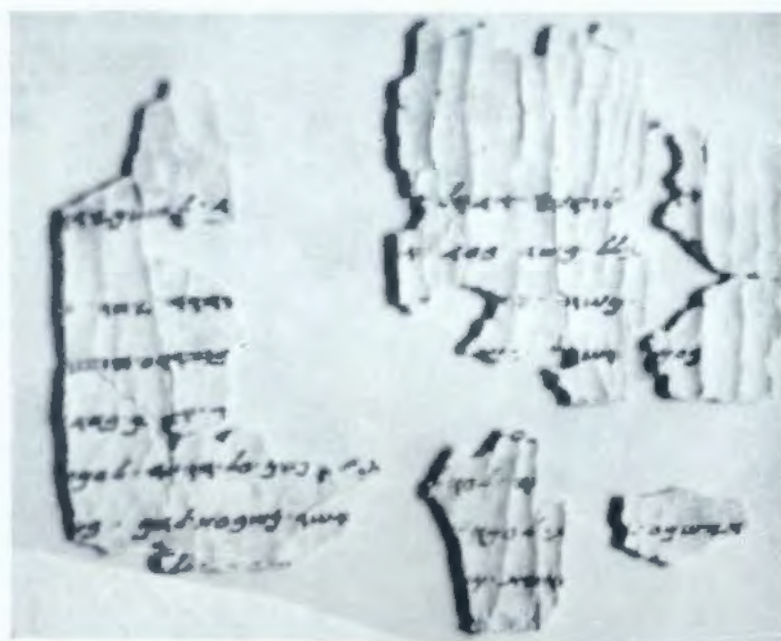


(ii) Hebrew Inscription: Pool of Siloam. Phoenician Script—*circa* 700 B.C.





(i) Hebrew Letter from Lachish. Phoenician Script—*circa* 586 B.C.



(ii) Dead Sea Fragments of Exodus. Phoenician Script



Clay Tablet from Ras Shamra  
Cuneiform Alphabetic Script





Is. 40:2-28

Dead Sea Scroll: Isaiah A  
 Photograph by John C. Trever, courtesy "The Biblical Archaeologist".





Papyrus Roll of first century (*Brit. Mus. Pap. 115, Hyperides pro Euxenippo*)

British Museum

(Actual size of portion reproduced with full margins, 17 in. x 12 in.)









תרגום אונקלוס. TARGUM ONKELOS.

[illegible]

I CA

[illegible]

VERSIO SAMARITANA.

[illegible]

## Versio ARABICA cum Interpretatione LATINA.

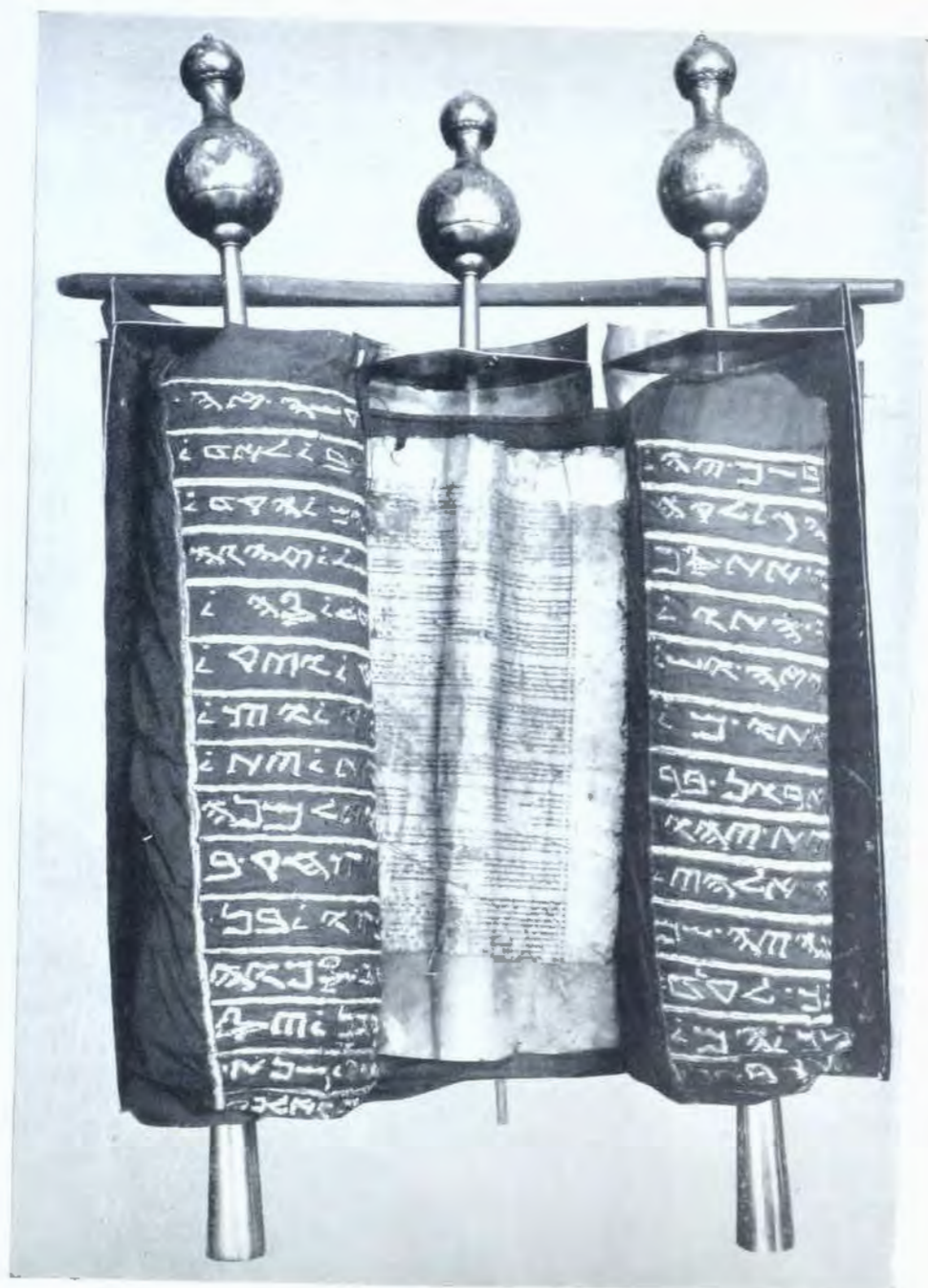
[illegible]

Et dicit eis, discite, conuenite p[er]u[er]s[us] 21  
 ne arripiamus ad lucem d[omi]ni, ne cadamus  
 eam, cademusq[ue] in os m[ul]ti. Et facite  
 fructus facie[m] accendit ad Deum,  
 et in conspectu ei[us] ip[s]i Deo. Dicit  
 illis, Non potest p[er]u[er]s[us] accendit ad mun-  
 dum. Simi, quoniam h[ab]uerat eis, et  
 d[omi]ni m[un]di, Conuenite conuenite,  
 et facite fructus. An illi d[omi]ni, unde,  
 discite et d[omi]ni discite, et H[ab]uerat  
 eis. Sicut dicit, et, et reliqua p[er]u[er]s[us],  
 ne uiam in os m[ul]ti, ad lucem d[omi]ni,  
 et in conspectu ei[us] illi. Discite et illi  
 ad populum, et dicit eis hoc. 22

## CAP XI

١ ثُمَّ كَلَّمَهُمْ جَمِيعَ هَذَا التَّكْلَامِ قَالًا ۖ أَا اللَّهَ تَبِيتُكَ الَّذِي أَحْرَجَكَ مِنْ أَرْضِ مِصْرَ مِنْ بَنِي  
 ٢ عِبْرُونَ لَا يَكُونُ لَكَ مَعْبُودٌ أَحَرُّ مِنْ ذُرِّي ۖ لَا تَصْنَعُ لَكَ مَتَعُونَ وَلَا سَهَابًا فِي السَّمَاءِ مِنَ الْعُلُوقِ  
 ٣ هَا فِي الْأَرْضِ سَهَابٌ مِثْلِي فِي الْمَاءِ حَتَّى الْأَرْضِ ۖ لَا تَسْجُدْ لَهَا وَلَا تَعْبُدْهَا لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ تَبِيتُكَ الْعَالَمِ الْعِبْرُونَ  
 ٤ طَالِبٌ يَتَعَبُونَ الْآبَاءَ مَعَ الْبَنِينَ وَالْوَالِدَ وَالزَّوْجَ لِسِي ۖ ضَمِيعَ الْأَرْضِ الْأَوْفَى مِنْ مِثْلِي  
 ٥ جَافِظِي وَمَا يَكُنِي ۖ لَا تَحْلُكُ بِأَسْمِ اللَّهِ تَبِيتُكَ نَاطِلًا لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُبْرِي مَنْ يَحْلُكُ بِأَسْمِ اللَّهِ ۖ أَذْكَرُ  
 ٦ فَمِ السَّبِّ وَفِيهِ سَبُّهُ أَتَاكَ حَكْمٌ وَصْنَعُ جَمِيعَ صَانِعِكَ ۖ وَالْيَوْمَ السَّابِعَ سَبُّهُ سَبًّا وَفِيهِ  
 ٧ تَبِيتُكَ ۖ لَا تَصْنَعُ سِوَا مِنْ الصَّنَائِعِ أَبُتْ وَأَبْسُكُ وَأَبْسُكُ وَعَبْدُكَ وَأَمْسُكُ وَهَامْسُكَ وَصْنَعُكَ  
 ٨ تَبِيتُكَ ۖ تَحْلُكُ ۖ

[illegible]



Samaritan MS. from Nablus  
(Original height, excluding rollers, about 19 in.)





Aquila's Version of the Old Testament; Palimpsest MS. from the  
Cairo Geniza  
Cambridge University Library



Papyrus Fragments of Deuteronomy - second century B.C.

*John Rylands Library, Manchester*







ΛΕΜΕΙΣΙΣΕΝΚΣΟΘΣ  
 ΤΟΥΘΥΣΕΙΣΚΩΤΩΘΩ <sup>CA</sup>ΡΥΤ  
 ΣΟΥΜΟΣΧΘΝΗΠΡΟΚΑ <sup>XVII.</sup>  
 ΤΟΝΕΝΩΕΣΤΙΝΕΝΑΥ  
 ΤΩΜΩΜΟΣΤΑΝΡΗΜΑ  
 ΤΟΝΗΡΟΝΚΔΕΛΥΓΜΑ  
 ΚΥΤΟΥΘΥΣΟΥΕΣΤΙΝ  
 ΑΝΑΒΕΥΡΕΘΗΕΝΣΟΙ  
 ΕΝΜΙΑΤΩΝΤΟΛΕΩΝ  
 ΣΟΥΩΝΚΣΟΘΣΣΟΥΑ  
 ΛΩΣΙΝΣΟΙΑΝΗΡΗΓΥ  
 ΝΗΘΣΤΙΣΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΤΟ  
 ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝΕΝΑΝΤΙΚΥ  
 ΤΟΥΘΥΣΟΥΠΑΡΕΛΘΕΙΝ  
 ΤΗΝΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝΑΥΤΟΥ  
 ΚΑΙΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣΑΚΤΡΕΥ  
 ΣΩΣΙΝΘΕΟΙΣΕΤΕΡΟΙΣ  
 ΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΗΣΩΣΙΝ  
 ΑΥΤΟΙΣΤΩΗΛΙΩΗΤΗ  
 ΣΕΛΗΝΗΗΠΑΝΤΙΤΩ  
 ΕΚΤΟΥΚΟΣΜΟΥΤΟΥΥ  
 ΡΑΝΟΥΛΟΥΠΡΟΣΕΓΑ  
 ΖΕΝΚΑΙΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΗΘΙ  
 ΚΑΙΑΚΟΥΣΗC· ΚΑΙΕΚ  
 ΖΗΤΗΣΗCΣΦΟΔΡΑΚΑΙ  
 ΙΔΟΥΑΛΗΘΩCΤΕΓΟ  
 ΝΕΝΤΟΡΗΜΑΓΕΓΕΝΗ

ΤΑΙΤΟΒΔΕΛΥΓΜΑΤΟΥ  
 ΤΟΕΝΙΗΛΚΑΙΕΞΑΡΕΚ  
 ΤΟΝΑΝΘΝΕΚΕΙΝΟΝ  
 ΗΤΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΕΚΕΙ  
 ΝΗΝ· ΟΙΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ  
 \* ΤΟΡΗΜΑΤΟΠΟΝΗΡΩΝ  
 \* ΤΟΥΤΟΠΡΟΣΤΙΥΑΛΙC  
 \* ΣΟΥΤΟΝΑΝΑΡΑΗΤΗΝ  
 \* ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΚΑΙΙΘΟΚ  
 ΑΗΣΕΤΕΛΥΤΟΥCΕΝΑΙ  
 ΘΟΙCΚΑΙΤΕΛΕΥΤΗCΥ  
 CΙΝΕΠΙΔΥΟΜΑΡΤΥCΙΝ  
 ΗΕΠΙΤΡΙCΙΝΜΑΡΤΥCΙΝ  
 ΑΠΟΘΑΝΕΓΓΛΙΟΑΠΟ  
 ΘΝΗΣΚΩΝΟΥΚΑΠΟ  
 ΘΑΝΕΓΓΛΙΕΠΙΜΑΡΤΥ  
 ΡΙΕΝΙΚΑΙΗΧΕΙΡΤΩΝ  
 ΜΑΡΤΥΡΩΝΕCΤΑΙΕΠ  
 ΑΥΤΩΝΕΝΤΙΡΩΤΟΙC  
 ΘΑΝΑΤΩCΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΚ  
 ΗΧΕΙΡΠΑΝΤΟCΤΟΥΑ  
 ΟΥΕΠΕCΧΑΤΩΚΑΙΕ  
 ΞΑΡΕΙCΤΟΝΤΟΝΗΡΩΝ  
 ΕΞΥΜΩΝΑΥΤΩΝΕΑΝ  
 ΛΕΑΔΥΝΑΤΗΣΧΑΠΟ  
 ΣΟΥΡΗΜΑΕΝΚΡΙCΕΙ  
 ΑΝΑΜΕCΟΝΑΙΜΑΤΟC

Codex Sarravianus—fifth century

University Library, Leyden

(Actual size 9½ in. × 9 in.)

on the 'Rolls' (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther) are so loosely paraphrased as to be hardly translations at all, and come from different sources and dates—e.g. that on Song of Songs is probably as late as the eighth century A.D.

From what has been said above it will be seen that it is not always possible to use the Targums as evidence for the Hebrew text of the sacred books on which they are based, since they at times paraphrase freely, inserting explanations, moderating strong expressions, and otherwise introducing alterations. It is, however, clear that the Hebrew text from which they are made (that is, the text current in Judæa about the end of the first century B.C., to which their tradition reaches back) was not identical with that which has come down to us. The student of the Variorum Bible will find many passages in which they are quoted as differing from the received text, sometimes for the better—e.g. Deut. xxxiii. 13; Joshua ix. 4; Judges v. 30; 2 Sam. xviii. 13; 1 Kings xiii. 12; Ps. c. 3; Isa. xlix. 5; etc. They have this advantage at least over most of the other versions, that whenever we can be sure of the Hebrew text which they represent we know that it was a text accepted by the leaders of criticism among the Jews themselves.

### § 3. THE SEPTUAGINT AND OTHER GREEK VERSIONS

Two considerations make the witnesses to the Old Testament already discussed in this chapter less important than they would otherwise be. The Samaritan text contains only the Pentateuch, and it is just this part of the Old Testament which is best preserved in the Hebrew, and consequently needs least correction. Secondly the Targums, because of their tendency to loose paraphrasing in the earlier stages of their evolution, are less reliable than we could wish in their testimony to the older Hebrew text. It should be said at once, however, that every translation is an interpretation, and anyone who has tried his hand at this difficult art knows that he is constantly faced with the choice either of giving an exact rendering of the *words* (which may result in bad style or even bad sense), or of rendering the *sense* of the original (which may make for good style, but not exact verbal equivalence). We shall see how this applies to the Greek versions of which we have now to speak. As regards the oldest and best known of these, the Septuagint, it is a complete translation of the Old Testament, containing indeed not only the books which now compose our Old Testament, but also those which, after a considerable period of uncertainty, were

finally excluded from the Hebrew Canon and now constitute our Apocrypha. Further, it is preserved in several manuscripts of very great age, the earliest, as we shall see presently, going back to the second century after Christ, not to mention a scrap which is even earlier. In every respect, both textually and historically, the Greek version of the Old Testament is by far the most important of all the ancient translations. On the one hand, it is our chief means of testing the accuracy of the Massoretic Hebrew text, and of correcting it when it is wrong; and, on the other, it has been the Bible of Greek Christendom from the earliest age of Christianity down to this present day. It will consequently require and deserve a somewhat extended notice at our hands.

### *Origin of the Septuagint*

The first questions to be answered are those that relate to its origin. When was it made? Why was it made? For whom was it made? Curious as it may seem at first sight, this Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible was made in a land which was neither Greek nor Hebrew—namely, Egypt. After the submission of Egypt to Alexander the Great, and the introduction of Greek settlers under Ptolemy, his lieutenant, Alexandria became the headquarters alike of the commerce and the literature of the East. Its population, mainly Greek, included also a large colony of Jews. Greek became the common language of intercourse between people of different nationalities in the East, and the Jews in Egypt learnt, before long, to use it as their native tongue. Hence there arose the necessity of having their Scriptures accessible in Greek; and the answer to this demand was the version known as the Septuagint. The story which was long current as to its origin is largely mythical, but it contains a kernel of truth. In a letter purporting to be written by one Aristæas to his brother Philocrates, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.), it is said that King Ptolemy, hearing of the Jewish Scriptures, and being urged by his librarian to obtain a copy of them for his great library at Alexandria, sent an embassy (of which the writer of the letter was one) to the high priest at Jerusalem with magnificent presents, begging him to send a copy of the sacred books, with a body of men capable of translating them. Thereupon six translators were selected from each of the twelve tribes and dispatched to Alexandria, bearing with them a copy of the Law, written in letters of gold. They were splendidly received by the king, and, after a banquet and public display of their wisdom, set about their task

of translation, working separately in the first instance, but afterwards comparing their results, and finally producing the version which was thenceforth known as the Septuagint, or the Version of the Seventy. Later generations improved upon this story, until the legend ran that each of the seventy-two translators was shut up in a separate cell (or by pairs in thirty-six cells) and each produced a translation of the whole Old Testament in exactly seventy-two days; and when their translations were compared it was found that they all agreed precisely with one another, in every word and every phrase, thus proving that their version was directly inspired by God.

This, however, is merely an exaggeration of the original story, which is in itself mostly legendary, though containing a substratum of truth. First it should be noticed that Aristeas is speaking of the Greek Pentateuch, and properly the term 'Septuagint' should be confined to this, though following early Christian usage it is applied to the Greek Bible as a whole. Again, it may be accepted that a Greek translation of the Law was already in existence by about 250 B.C., or even earlier, and that it was sponsored by Jewish authorities at Alexandria. But whether this official version was promulgated at that time, or nearer to that of Aristeas himself (c. 130-100 B.C.) is a question which will be referred to later. On the other hand, it is clear that the translation was made by Hellenistic Jews, not Palestinian as the Letter of Aristeas states, and in the first instance for Jews, either for use in the synagogue in public worship or for private study. The other books were added later, by different translators at different times; the Prophets by c. 150, the Hagiographa by the beginning of the Christian era. As we have seen, the grandson of ben Sira found not only the Law, but the Prophets and "the rest of the books" in Greek c. 132 B.C., and he also notes that they "have no small difference when they are spoken in their own language"—i.e. that they differed to some extent from the Hebrew. Indeed the style of the translation differs so markedly in different books as to prove that the whole Old Testament cannot have been the work of a single group of translators. The Pentateuch itself bears evidence of different hands. The prophetic books are much freer, and this is especially noticeable in the case of Isaiah, which often defeated the translators, who took refuge in paraphrase. The 'Septuagint' text of Daniel, on the other hand, was replaced in nearly all Christian copies by the version of Theodotion (or that later revised by Theodotion) because of its divergence from the Hebrew

original. In the books of Samuel the Greek text is very important, since it presupposes a better Hebrew text than that of the Massoretes. This had long been suspected by scholars, and is now shown to be so by the Dead Sea texts. The Hagiographa vary considerably; Job is treated with considerable licence, others with great literalness.

### *Its Contents*

The Septuagint version—using the phrase now to cover the whole Greek Bible—contains not merely the books which now form our Old Testament, but also those which, since the Reformation, have been placed apart in the Apocrypha.<sup>1</sup> Some of these books (2 Esdras, the additions of Esther, Wisdom, part of Baruch, the Song of the Three Children, 2–4 Maccabees) never existed in Hebrew at all; but the others were originally written in Hebrew and circulated among the Jews (chiefly, it would seem, in their Greek form) for some time on very much the same footing as some of the books which form the section of the Hagiographa (p. 67). They never, however, attained the same position of authority, and when the Canon of the Old Testament was finally closed they were left outside. From this point dates their disappearance in their Hebrew form; they ceased to be copied in Hebrew; and so they have come down to us only in the Greek, or in translations made from the Greek. Jerome rejected them from his Latin Bible because they were not extant in Hebrew; but the older Latin translations of them were subsequently incorporated into the Vulgate, and they have remained in the Latin Bible of the Roman Church to the present day. The Septuagint is, however, their real home, and there they take their proper places among the books of the Old Testament. The first book of Esdras takes precedence of the book of Ezra, of which it is an alternative version with some additions. After the book of Nehemiah (which, in conjunction with the canonical Ezra, is called the second book of Esdras) come, in the principal manuscript of the Septuagint, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Job, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus (or the Wisdom of Sirach), Esther (including the parts now banished to the Apocrypha), Judith, Tobit. Then follow the Prophets; but Jeremiah is succeeded by Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle of Jeremiah (=Baruch, chapter vi.), and Daniel is preceded by Susanna and followed by Bel and the Dragon.

<sup>1</sup> It is unfortunate that the Apocrypha is generally omitted from copies of the English Bible. No doubt a little explanation of the nature of the books contained in it is needed by most people, but that information is now easily accessible in many popular handbooks.

Finally the Old Testament is concluded by the books of the Maccabees, of which there are, in some of the earliest copies, four instead of only two.<sup>1</sup>

*Adopted by Greek-speaking Jews and the Christian Church*

The Septuagint translation became the Bible of Greek-speaking Jews, and circulated widely in Palestine and Asia as well as in Egypt, the home of its birth. At the time of our Lord's life on earth Greek was the literary language of Palestine (in the sense that it would be known by the well-to-do classes who had contacts with the wider world, Jewish and Gentile) as Aramaic was the spoken language of the common people. Hebrew was known to the class of students headed by the rabbis and scribes, but the letters from the cave at Murabba'at do not altogether bear out the view that by this time Hebrew was to all intents and purposes a dead language. All the books of the New Testament were written in Greek; and most of the quotations from the Old Testament which appear in them are taken from the Septuagint or another Greek version, not from the original Hebrew. As Christianity spread beyond the borders of Palestine, Greek was necessarily the language in which it appealed alike to the Jew and to the Gentile; and when, in speaking to the former, it based its claim on the fulfilment of prophecy, it was in the language of the Septuagint

<sup>1</sup> Luther followed Jerome in rejecting the books which did not form part of the Hebrew Canon, and the English translators followed Luther. The sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles confirms this. The English Apocrypha includes, in addition to the books named above, 2 Esdras (an apocalyptic work, originally written in Greek, or possibly in Hebrew, but now only known in Latin and other versions, which was included, though not accepted as canonical, in the Latin Vulgate, and thence passed into the English Genevan Bible, and so to the Authorized Version), and the Prayer of Manasses, a work of unknown origin, which is included among hymns attached to the Psalter in the Codex Alexandrinus (see p. 120). On the other hand, it does not include 3 and 4 Maccabees. The Song of the Three Children, Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon are parts of the Greek version of Daniel; and 'the rest of the book of Esther' is similarly made up of parts of the Greek Esther which do not appear in the Hebrew. The numeration of the books of Esdras is rather confusing. In the Greek Bible 1 and 2 Esdras are alternative versions of Ezra-Nehemiah, 1 Esdras being an expanded version, including part of Chronicles and some other matter, which is now by many believed to represent the original Septuagint, while 2 Esdras is a close representation of the Hebrew text. In the Latin Vulgate 1 Esdras = Ezra, 2 Esdras = Nehemiah, 3 Esdras = the Greek 1 Esdras, and 4 Esdras = the apocalyptic work. In our sixth Article, 3 and 4 Esdras are the same as in the Latin; but in the Authorized and Revised Versions these are called 1 and 2 Esdras, Ezra and Nehemiah appearing under their own names among the canonical books. To avoid confusion, however, the apocalyptic book is generally referred to by scholars as Fourth Esdras rather than Second Esdras.

version that the prophecies were quoted. The Christian Church adopted the Septuagint as its own Book of the Old Covenant, and looked to that as its Bible long before it had come to realize that its own writings would take a place beside it as equally sacred Scripture.

### *The Rejection of the Septuagint by the Jews*

A consequence of this appropriation of the Septuagint by the Christian Church was to make it suspect in the eyes of the Jews, especially as, in some places, the text had been affected by Christian belief. Thus when the Christians in controversy pressed them with quotations from the prophets, of which the fulfilment had been found in Christ—e.g. Isa. vii. 14—the Jews, quite rightly, took refuge in a denial of the accuracy of the Septuagint translation, maintaining that the word translated *parthenos* ('virgin') meant simply a young girl of marriageable age. On the other hand, the Jews were accused of tampering with the text of Ps. xcvi. 10, which the Christians read (as indeed in one of our ancient codices), "Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord reigneth from the Tree", which is manifestly a Christian gloss. But there were other reasons for the dissatisfaction of the Jews. As we have seen, about the end of the first century A.D. the first steps were being taken to fix the Hebrew text in the form which has come down to us, and which was already seen to be at variance with the Greek version. Parallel with this was the rise of a new school of Biblical study and exegesis under the influence of Rabbi Akiba, to whom every word, every letter of the sacred text was of the utmost importance and charged with meaning. By contrast the frequent looseness (as it seemed) of the Septuagint was anything but satisfactory. The result was that the Septuagint was cast off by the Jews, and they ceased to copy it. With the certain exception of two fragments of Deuteronomy, and possibly a few others,<sup>1</sup> all our texts of the Septuagint are Christian, and it is to the Church that we owe its preservation. Indeed since the Jews now rejected the books not in the Hebrew Canon, it is only in the Christian Septuagint that the books of the Apocrypha have come down to us. The one exception is the book of Jesus ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus), which the Jews continued to copy. Indeed the Greek Bible of the Alexandrian Jews before the Christian era is, as one eminent scholar has said, an unknown entity.

<sup>1</sup> If it is properly to be regarded as Septuagint, the fragmentary Greek text on leather of the Minor Prophets from the Dead Sea area discovered in 1952 may be included here.

*Rival Translations in the Second Century*

Now that something like an authoritative Hebrew text was in being, what was needed was a faithful translation of this into Greek for the use of Greek-speaking Jews which would be more in accord with the new ideals of Rabbinical interpretation.

1. *Aquila*. The production of such a translation was the work of AQUILA, who is said by Epiphanius to have been a relative of the Emperor Hadrian and, after being converted to Christianity, later became a proselyte to Judaism. From the Jewish side he is reported to have been a disciple and pupil of Rabbi Akiba, whose methods of interpretation he applied to his version of the Hebrew text, of which it is an exceedingly bald and literal rendering. He adheres so closely to the original as to do violence to Greek idiom by imposing on it Hebrew constructions; he translates derivations from the same Hebrew root by corresponding derivations in Greek; he even attempts to render the Hebrew accusative particle which has no equivalent in Greek at all. To anyone ignorant of Hebrew the result must often have been such as to seem obscure or even nonsensical. Moreover, he followed the anti-Christian bias of his master by using, in some passages interpreted Messianically by the Church, another word in place of *Christos* ('anointed') and, in Isa. vii. 14 *neanis* ('young woman') instead of *parthenos* ('virgin'). Nevertheless his work was held in high regard by Christian scholars like Origen and Jerome for its fidelity to the original, as well as by Jews. Most of his version has perished, apart from quotations in others writers. But the Cairo Geniza (see p. 70 and Plate XIII) has yielded up fragments which show that it was used in the synagogue, and there is the Ambrosian Hexapla palimpsest of the Psalms which gives about 150 verses (see below p. 106). In 1904 A. H. McNeile argued that the text of Ecclesiastes in the Septuagint is Aquila's version, and though it certainly bears many of his characteristic features, there are reasons for doubting whether this is entirely so.<sup>1</sup> The usual view is that his translation of the Old Testament was made about A.D. 130.

2. *Theodotion*. Later in the same century another translation was made by THEODOTION (diversely described by Irenæus and

<sup>1</sup> The gravest objection is that many of the fragments of Aquila's text of Ecclesiastes which we know from elsewhere do not agree with the Septuagint text. The possibilities are (1) that the Septuagint text represents an earlier version which was used and revised by Aquila; (2) that the older text has been revised from Aquila; or (3) that the original Greek Ecclesiastes was an abbreviated text, which has been filled out from Aquila. The early Latin evidence, and the fact that the 'Aquilaisms' tend to recur in blocks, support (3).



Epiphanius as a Jewish proselyte and by Jerome as an Ebionite Christian) said to have been a native of Ephesus. It was generally believed that Theodotion's translation was a revision of the Septuagint on the basis of the authorized Hebrew text used by Aquila, though exactly contrary in its treatment of it, being very free in its rendering of the original. But of recent years the view has been gaining ground that what Theodotion revised was not the Septuagint but another independent version. The reasons for this are that 'Theodotionic' readings are found in the New Testament (notably in the book of Revelation), in the Epistle of Barnabas (c. A.D. 80-130), Clement of Rome (c. A.D. 96) and Hermas (c. A.D. 100) as well as in his contemporaries Irenæus and Tertullian. As to its origins, many Hebrew words are simply transliterated instead of being translated, which would be reasonable enough if they occurred in a version for Jews, but would be unintelligible to Greek-speaking Christians. On the other hand Theodotion's translation does not seem to have been adopted by the Jews, although it obtained much popularity among Christians and exercised a considerable influence on the subsequent history of the Septuagint. Notably was this the case in respect of the books of Daniel and Job. Theodotion's version of Daniel was so much preferred to that of the Septuagint, that it actually took its place in the manuscripts of the Septuagint itself, and the original Septuagint version was until quite recently known only from a single Greek manuscript (the Chigi MS. in Rome) and a Syriac translation. Within the last few years, however, an early papyrus manuscript of a considerable part of it has been discovered (see p. 118). In the case of Job, the Septuagint version did not contain many passages (amounting to about one-sixth of the book in all) which appear in the received or Massoretic text of the Hebrew; and these Origen supplied in the Septuagint from the version of Theodotion. It is believed by some also that the version of Ezra-Nehemiah known as 2 Esdras is the work of Theodotion, the looser and expanded version of 1 Esdras being the original Septuagint;<sup>1</sup> but this cannot yet be said to be established.

3. *Symmachus*. Yet one other Greek version of the Old Testament remains to be mentioned, that of SYMMACHUS, which was made about the year 200. The special feature of this translation is the literary skill and taste with which the Hebrew phrases of the original are rendered into good and idiomatic Greek. In this respect Symmachus approaches nearer than any of his rivals to the

<sup>1</sup> Josephus certainly used 1 Esdras.

modern conception of a translator's duty; but he had less influence than any of them on the history of the Greek Bible. Curiously enough, he had more influence upon the Latin Bible; for Jerome made considerable use of him in the preparation of the Vulgate.

4. *Quinta, Sexta, Septima.* These three anonymous versions were known to and used by Origen in the Hexapla (see next section) for the Psalms. In addition readings from the *Quinta* survive for 2 Kings, Job, Canticles and Minor Prophets, and from the *Sexta* in Exodus, 1 Kings and the Minor Prophets. Little is known of the *Septima*; but in view of the recent discoveries from the Dead Sea it is noteworthy that according to Eusebius the *Sexta* was found together with other Greek and Hebrew books in a jar near Jericho in the time of Antoninus—i.e. Caracalla (d. 217), while the *Quinta* was found at Nicopolis near Actium. Whether the *Sexta* came from the same source as the recent Dead Sea Scrolls is a matter of opinion; the others may well, as Kahle suggests, have come from Jewish Genizas. That they were Jewish in origin, as Jerome says of the *Quinta* and *Sexta*, there can be little doubt.

#### *Revisions of the Septuagint*

1. *Origen's Hexapla.* At the beginning of the third century there were thus three<sup>1</sup> Greek versions of the Old Testament currently in existence, besides the Septuagint itself. The next step, and one of much importance in the history of the Greek text, was taken by the great Alexandrian scholar, ORIGEN, whose life occupies the first half of the third century (A.D. 186–253). By this time the text of the Septuagint had become corrupted through scribal transmission, a fact of which Origen himself was well aware. He also knew that the Septuagint was often at variance with the current Hebrew text, which he regarded as authoritative, and not unnaturally assumed that *all* deviations between the two were the result of scribal deterioration on the Greek side. In fact this was by no means always the case, since, as we have seen, the older Hebrew text from which the Septuagint version was made was not at all points identical with that used by the Jews in Origen's time, and which had been the basis for the translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. Therefore finding all these various, and often conflicting, versions about him he determined to draw them together in what was the first critical edition of the Old Testament, and to try to use them for the production of one more

<sup>1</sup> i.e. excluding the anonymous versions mentioned above, which may not have been complete.

perfect version than them all. Accordingly with that stupendous energy which earned for him the admiration of his contemporaries and of posterity, he set about the colossal work to which was given the name of the Hexapla, or 'sixfold' version of the Old Testament Scriptures. In six parallel columns, at each opening of his book, were arranged the following six different versions: (1) the Hebrew text then current (substantially the same as the Massoretic text); (2) the Hebrew text transliterated in Greek letters (probably not his own work, but taken over from Jewish 'aids' to the pronunciation of the consonantal Hebrew text); (3) the Greek translation of Aquila (placed here as being nearest to the Hebrew in fidelity); (4) the translation of Symmachus; (5) the Septuagint as revised by Origen himself; (6) the translation of Theodotion, coming last in the series as being the furthest removed in style from the original. In addition, as mentioned above, for the Psalms he gave the anonymous versions which he called Quinta, Sexta and Septima, and the first two in other books as well. According to Eusebius the last four columns (Aquila, Symmachus, Septuagint and Theodotion) existed in a separate form, known as the Tetrapla or fourfold version, which was probably a later reproduction in handier size of the more important part of Origen's work; but in any case the Hexapla, whether earlier or later, is the complete and authoritative form of it. So huge a work as this (it has been estimated that it would cover 6,500 pages) was not likely to be copied as a whole. The original manuscript, which was preserved in the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea, was consulted by Jerome at the end of the fourth century, but it perished as a result of the Moslem conquest of Palestine in the seventh century, and of all of its columns except the fifth no complete representation has come down to us. In 1896, however, a young Italian scholar, now well known as Cardinal Mercati, found a palimpsest fragment in the Ambrosian Library at Milan containing the text of eleven Psalms in five of the six columns of the Hexapla, written about the fifth century. The Hebrew column is omitted, and the last contained not Theodotion but the Quinta, with variant readings in the margin. This gives a concrete example of what the Hexapla would have looked like, and adds something to our knowledge of the several versions. There is also a fragment at Cambridge, discovered in the Cairo Geniza, containing part of Psalm xxii. in all six columns.

It is with the fifth column, however, that we are principally concerned, since it contained Origen's edition of the Septuagint,

and this edition had a considerable influence on the text of the version in subsequent ages. Unfortunately, Origen's efforts were not directed towards the recovery of the original form of the Septuagint, but at bringing it into harmony with the Hebrew text then current, and to do this he introduced alterations into it with the utmost freedom. Small differences were silently corrected either from what seemed to him to be the best reading of Septuagint MSS. or from one of the other versions. Differences of order were met by transposing the Greek into conformity with the Hebrew. Major changes in the text occasioned by omissions or additions he indicated by employing a system of critical signs used by Alexandrian scholars. Thus passages occurring in the Septuagint which were not found in the Hebrew were marked by an *obelus* (—); passages occurring in the Hebrew but not in the Septuagint were inserted in the latter from the version of Theodotion, such insertions being marked by an *asterisk* (✱ or ✶); a *metobelus* (×) in each case marking the end of the passage in question. For Origen's purpose, which was the production of a Greek version corresponding as closely as possible with the Hebrew text as then settled, this procedure was well enough; but for ours, which is the recovery of the original Septuagint text as evidence for what the Hebrew was before the formation of the Massoretic text, it was most unfortunate, since there was a natural tendency for his edition to be copied without the critical symbols, and thus for the additions made by him from Theodotion to appear as part of the genuine and original Septuagint. This has certainly happened in some cases; it is difficult to say with certainty in how many. Fortunately we are not left without some means of discovering these insertions, for in the year 617, shortly before the disappearance of the original manuscript of the Hexapla, Bishop Paul, of Tella in Mesopotamia, made a Syriac translation of the column containing the Septuagint, copying faithfully into it the critical symbols of Origen; and a copy of part of this, written in the eighth century, is still extant in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, containing the Prophets and most of the Hagiographa.<sup>1</sup> For the Pentateuch the chief authority is a Greek manuscript at Leyden, written in the fifth century, and known as the Codex

<sup>1</sup> The Ambrosian MS. contains Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon and the Prophets. The first volume of this MS. was in existence in 1574, but has since disappeared. On the other hand, fragments of other MSS. have been discovered, and are now in the British Museum, containing Exodus and Ruth complete, and portions of Genesis, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges and 3 Kingdoms, while 4 Kingdoms is preserved in a MS. at Paris.

Sarravianus (see p. 123); and a few other manuscripts exist, likewise containing an Origenian text, some of which will be described below. There are thus fair means for recovering the Septuagint column of Origen's great work.

The versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus have, however, for the most part perished. In 1897, among a quantity of fragments brought to Cambridge from the Cairo Geniza were found three palimpsest leaves which were identified by Dr F. C. Burkitt as containing the Aquila text of 3 Kingd. xx. 7-17 and 4 Kingd. xxiii. 11-27, in a hand of the sixth century. One curious feature is that the Divine Name is written in the *old* Hebrew (i.e. Phœnician) characters, which for ordinary purposes had gone out of use 600 years before. This confirms an express statement of Origen, which modern scholars had causelessly doubted.<sup>1</sup> Another fragment, containing Ps. xc. (xci.) 6<sup>b</sup>-13<sup>a</sup> and xci. (xcii.) 3<sup>b</sup>-9, apparently from the same MS., was separately edited by Dr. C. Taylor; and a tiny papyrus scrap, containing Gen. i. 1-5, is described below (p. 119). Otherwise no continuous manuscripts of any of these versions have survived, except those parts of Theodotion which were incorporated in the received text of the Septuagint; but a very large number of individual readings have been preserved in the margin of Septuagint MSS. (especially the Codex Marchalianus, see p. 124), and these have been collected and arranged with great skill and care in the two portly volumes of Dr. Field's edition of the Hexapla, published by the Oxford University Press in 1875.

Origen's own colossal work went to the ground, but the part of it which was most important in his eyes, and the ultimate object of the whole—the revised text of the Septuagint—survived, and had a most noteworthy influence on the subsequent history of the version. At the beginning of the fourth century we find a sudden crop of new editions of the Septuagint, all more or less affected by his work. Three such are known to us, and they are of great importance for our present purpose, as we shall see when we come to describe the form in which the Septuagint has come down to us. These three editions are those of (1) Eusebius, (2) Hesychius, (3) Lucian.

#### *New Editions of the Septuagint*

1. Eusebius of Cæsarea, the first great historian of Christianity, with the assistance of his friend Pamphilus, reproduced Origen's

<sup>1</sup> A similar use of the Phœnician script for the Divine Name is found in various places in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

text of the Septuagint (the fifth column of the Hexapla) as an independent edition complete with the critical signs. In spite of the fact that the fifth column represented a mixture of the Septuagint with Theodotion and other versions, it was accepted by Jerome (as by its editors) as being the Septuagint in its purest form. But the critical signs, in the absence of the Hebrew and the other versions, had lost their significance, and they were omitted by later copyists.

2. *Hesychius*. Little or nothing is known of HESYCHIUS (except that he probably died as a martyr in the persecution of Maximus in 311) or of the methods on which he based his recension. On the question of the identification of his version, and of the MSS. in which it is probably to be found, more will be said below.

3. *Lucian*. LUCIAN of Samosata, a leading scholar of Antioch, who is also said to have suffered martyrdom in 311, produced another edition of the Greek text of the Old Testament. Among the characteristics usually attributed to his work are a tendency to combine alternative readings into composite form, thus preserving both; the substitution of synonyms for words in the Septuagint; and lucidity of style. Jerome thought that Lucian's text was a revision of the *koinē* (the common or popular text), but other ancient writers believed it to be another version of the Hebrew text, comparable with those of the Hexapla. The fact that 'Lucianic' readings are found in Josephus and other early authors—i.e. long before the time of Lucian himself—as well as in the Old Latin version, has led some scholars to believe that the latter view is not far from the truth, and that what Lucian in fact revised was not the Septuagint text but another and independent Greek translation.

These three editions were practically contemporary, and must all have been produced about the year 300. Each circulated in a different area, but the texts reacted on one another, and the confusion is now very difficult to disentangle. The edition of Eusebius and Pamphilus (called the 'Hexaplaric') was generally used in Palestine; that of Lucian had its home in Antioch, and was also accepted in Constantinople and Asia Minor; while Hesychius was a scholar of Alexandria, and his edition circulated in Egypt.

#### *The Present State of the Septuagint*

After the beginning of the fourth century the Septuagint, so far as we know, underwent no further revision, and it is unnecessary

to trace its history beyond this point. In one form or another, and gradually becoming corrupted in all by the errors of copyists, it continued to be, as it is to this day, the Old Testament of the Greek or Eastern Church. We have now to begin at the other end, and ask in what form it has come down to us and, what means we have of ascertaining its original text.

First, a word may be said about the evidence for the different books, or parts of books, being translated at various times by divers hands. The criteria are, of course, grammatical and stylistic, the degree of closeness to the Hebrew text, translation of proper names, etc. To give but one example, it can be shown that there is remarkable consistency in translating the same Hebrew word by the same Greek word throughout a particular book, while in other books different renderings are given. Sometimes this is seen to be the case within a single book: in one series of chapters one Greek word is consistently used, elsewhere a different rendering appears, though the Hebrew is the same. In the latter case (e.g. in the Prophets) it is probable that to begin with those parts of a book were translated first which were read in the synagogue in the course of the 'second lesson'. Later the translation would be completed, the earlier parts being incorporated in the finished work. At any rate it is clear that different translators were engaged. The question then arises whether, besides diversity of translators, there may also have been diversity of translations.

It is at this point that in recent years scholars have become sharply divided in their views: namely, as to whether it is either possible or proper to speak of an 'original text' of the Septuagint. As in other departments of Old Testament textual studies, the lead has been taken by Paul Kahle, who sees the history of the Septuagint as corresponding in all its essentials to that of the Targums. Indeed in the Jewish stage of its history, he would say, this is exactly what the Septuagint version was: a Greek Targum, beginning as an oral and becoming later a written translation of the Hebrew text for synagogue and private use in different localities. The time came when the need was felt for an authorized version of the Pentateuch in Greek, which was revised and standardized by the Jewish authorities in Alexandria. It is this to which the Letter of Aristeas refers, the Letter itself being propaganda designed to command the new revised version which was contemporary with it. Thus the Septuagint proper is this authorized Jewish recension of the Pentateuch, which even so did

not entirely replace the older versions. Apart from it there was no standard Jewish text of the Greek Bible; the other books existed in a variety of translations. In their turn the Christians took over the authorized Jewish Pentateuch and adopted one or other of the Greek versions of the remaining books, which in the course of the second century A.D. became the canonical text of the Old Testament for the Church. At the same time the title of 'Septuagint' was given to the complete Greek Bible, thus casting over it the aura of antiquity and sacredness which the Letter of Aristeas had given to the Greek Pentateuch. Meanwhile the Septuagint ceased to belong to the Jews, who cast it off in favour of the new translations made in accordance with the Rabbinical Hebrew text.

Such in brief outline is the picture drawn by Kahle. On what evidence is it based? There is, first of all, that provided by the Hexapla itself: the Quinta and Sexta columns, described as Jewish by Jerome, which must have differed considerably from the Septuagint to have been given a separate representation; then there is the version revised by Theodotion, which has left its traces in the New Testament and in early Christian writers; Aquila too probably used earlier non-Septuagintal translations, traces of which may also be reflected in the Greek Minor Prophets of c. A.D. 50 from the Dead Sea area (see p. 34) which frequently agrees with Aquila as well as with Justin Martyr against the Septuagint. There is also the fact that several books have survived wholly or partly in more than one version: for example, Lagarde, the great protagonist of the 'original text' admitted this to be the case in Judges; some papyrus fragments of Job of about A.D. 200 clearly belong to a different translation, and represent a better Hebrew text than the Massoretic; and the differences between the two recensions of Tobit contained in the great codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus are so considerable that the question arises whether they can both be derived from the same 'original' translation. Finally we may mention again the Old Testament quotations in the New Testament and in various early writers which appear to be derived from a version or versions different from the Septuagint, as well as the old version which it is assumed was revised by Lucian. It must be admitted that Kahle makes out a very strong case, which if substantiated will bring the Greek Old Testament into line with the Latin Bible and the Targums as illustrating his rule that a fixed authorized version of a translation is not the beginning but the end of a long process. It will also mean that the



attempt to find an 'original text' of the Septuagint is impossible, since there was no 'original text'. There are various points, such as the authorized Greek Pentateuch of the Aristeas Letter and the canonical text of the Christian Church, which it is possible to arrive at; but otherwise the task of scholars is "a careful collection and investigation of all the remains and traces of earlier versions of the Greek Bible which differed from the Christian standard text".

This may give the impression that the value of the Septuagint as a witness to the Hebrew is less than it otherwise would be. In fact, Kahle would say, this is not so. Instead we must now think not of one Greek version, but rather of the whole of the Greek evidence in a plurality of versions, most of them, it is true, fragmentary, but in so far as they are diverse increasing rather than decreasing the total witness.

It should, however, be said that Kahle's conclusion has not been accepted on all hands, and that the older view of a single translation is still tenable. Here the evidence of the scroll of the Greek Minor Prophets from the Dead Sea area, already referred to, may well prove to be decisive. As we have seen, it is claimed that this MS. of about A.D. 100 shows close affinities with the quotations of Justin Martyr (d. c. 165) where he departs from the Septuagint; and it has also other variants which agree with Aquila's version. But this is not all: Symmachus also seems to show some knowledge of it, and fragments of the Quinta covered by the scroll appear to have much in common. In the opinion of Barthélemy this scroll of the Minor Prophets is a recension of the older Septuagint text by Jewish scholars, with the object of bringing it into closer conformity with the prevailing Hebrew text. The fact that it was found in the Dead Sea region may indicate that it was a product of Palestinian Rabbinical scholarship such as is associated with Rabbi Akiba. It appears to have had a wide circulation, since this or a similar recension was known to Justin Martyr and Symmachus, and was also apparently used by Aquila as a basis for his own version. It would perhaps be going too far to identify it with the Quinta in the present stage of the evidence. But it is at least possible to maintain that what Kahle has taken to be rival translations might instead be different recensions of the basic Septuagint text, which had been revised at various times so as to bring it into closer agreement with the Hebrew as it was received in the Jewish communities. On this reading of the evidence it would be quite reasonable to speak of an 'original' or 'proto-Septuagint' text.

Meanwhile it is clear that the merits of the rival views will be keenly debated by scholars.

*MSS. of the Septuagint*

We have seen in the last chapter that apart from the material from the Dead Sea Caves no copy of the Hebrew Bible now extant was written earlier than the ninth century, while those of the Samaritan Pentateuch only go back to the tenth. The oldest copies of the Greek Bible are, however, of far greater antiquity than this, and take rank as the most venerable, as well as the most valuable, authorities for the Bible text as a whole which now survive. The oldest and best of them contain the New Testament as well as the Old, and will have to be described again in greater detail (since the New Testament portion has generally been more minutely studied than the Old) in a subsequent chapter. But a short account of them must be given here.

*Classification of MSS.: Papyri, Uncials, Minuscles*

It has already been explained in Chapter I that Greek manuscripts fall into three classes: Papyri, Uncials and Minuscles. The papyri (a class which for practical purposes has only come into existence since the first edition of this book was published) extend from the date at which the books of the Septuagint were first produced to the seventh century of the Christian era, when the Arab conquest of Egypt (in 640) put an end to the export of papyrus from Egypt; though Græco-Coptic copies of the Scriptures continued to be produced after that date. The vellum uncials cover the period from the fourth to the tenth century, while the minuscles begin in the ninth and go on until the end of the fifteenth century. In the earliest list of Septuagint manuscripts (that of Holmes and Parsons, see p. 127) all were comprised in a single numerical series, but the uncials were distinguished by Roman numerals I to XII, and the minuscles by Arabic numerals from 13 onwards. Modern editors, however, have usually followed the New Testament custom of denoting the uncials by capital letters, and this practice will be followed here. The papyri and minuscles will be given the numbers under which they appear in the list of Rahlfs (continued by Dr. W. Kappler of Göttingen). It will be convenient, however, to describe the papyri separately, as forming a class by themselves of much earlier date than the vellum minuscles, and, indeed, than most of the vellum uncials.

1. *Papyri*

The total number of papyrus fragments, great and small, is now considerable. A list compiled in 1933 contained 174 Old Testament items, including vellum fragments from Egypt, and ostraka (inscribed potsherds) as well as papyri, and more have come to light since then; but most of these are not of great importance. The few that are of substantial value will now be described. The first two are indicated in the official list by capital letters, the others by Arabic numerals.

U. British Museum Papyrus 37. This was the first Biblical papyrus to be discovered, having been acquired by the Museum in 1836 from Dr. Edward Hogg, who stated that it had been discovered among the rubbish of an ancient convent at Thebes. It consists of thirty-two leaves of a papyrus codex of the Psalms, containing the text of Ps. x. (xi.) 2-xviii. (xix.) 6; xx. (xxi.) 14-xxxiv. (xxxv.) 6.<sup>1</sup> Written in a sloping hand, probably of the seventh century. Edited by Tischendorf (*Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, nov. coll. i., 1855), and used by Swete and Rahlfs in their editions. The text belongs to the Upper Egyptian family, with the Sahidic version.

X. Freer Greek MS. V at Washington. Acquired by Mr. C. L. Freer in 1916 as a mass of cohering fragments, which after skilled treatment and mounting in the library of the University of Michigan were added to the Freer Collection at Washington (see pp. 126, 214). The fragments form portions of thirty-three leaves, out of a probable total of forty-eight, of a codex of the Minor Prophets, probably of the later part of the third century. Of Hosea and the first verses of Amos (which follow) only a few letters are preserved; but from Amos i. 10 it is continuous (with some local mutilations) to the end of Malachi. Edited by Prof. H. A. Sanders of Michigan, with 911.

905. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 656, now in the Bodleian. Parts of four leaves of a codex, containing Gen. xiv. 21-23, xv. 5-9, xix. 32-xx. 11, xxiv. 28-47, xxvii. 32, 33, 40, 41, in a text rather different from any other MS. Early third century.

911. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Gr. fol. 66, I, II. A codex of thirty-two leaves, of which the first and last (the latter being

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew and Greek numerations of the Psalms differ. Psalms ix. and x. of the Hebrew are combined into one Psalm in the Greek; consequently the Greek numbers are one less than the Hebrew numbers (which are those used in our Bible and Prayer Book) as far as Psalms cxlvi. (Hebrew cxlvii.). Psalms cxlvi. and cxlvii. in the Greek are, however, combined into one Psalm in the Hebrew, so that the numeration agrees before the end.

blank) are lost, and the others more or less mutilated. The hand is not a literary one, but such as is found in documents of the early part of the fourth century. The writing is very irregular, and the first nine leaves are in double columns, while the remainder is in single columns with long lines. It contains (with many mutilations) a great part of Genesis as far as xxxv. 8, where it breaks off, the title ("Creation of the World") being appended, which shows that the rest of the book must have been contained in another volume. (The codex was no doubt copied from a roll, and Gen. i.-xxxv. is about as much as a single roll would hold.) The text shows many agreements with the two papyri of Genesis described below (961 and 962). Edited by H. A. Sanders and C. Schmidt, with X.

919. Heidelberg Septuagint Papyrus 1. Twenty-seven leaves, all more or less mutilated, of a codex of the Minor Prophets, written in a large, rough hand of the seventh century, by which time papyrus MSS. were generally poor examples of book production. Contains portions of Zechariah (iv. 6-v. 1, v. 3-vi. 2, vi. 4-15, vii. 10-x. 7, xi. 5-end) and nearly all Malachi, in a text akin to that of the vellum uncials A and Q. Edited by A. Deissmann.

952. British Museum Papyrus 2486. Acquired in 1922. Two conjoint leaves of a codex of which one leaf contains Song of Solomon v. 12-vi. 10, and the other the Apology of Aristides, chapter xv. The latter is important as confirming the Syriac version of the Apology, as against the rather shortened Greek text preserved in Barlaam and Josaphat. Early fourth century.

957. John Rylands Library, Papyrus Greek 458. The earliest extant fragment of a Bible MS., consisting of portions of four columns of a roll of papyrus extracted from the cartonnage of a mummy acquired in 1917 by Dr. Rendel Harris. It is written in a fine book hand, which can be assigned with confidence to the second century B.C., and contains Deut. xxiii. 24-xxiv. 3, xxv. 1-3, xxvi. 12, 17-19, xxviii. 31-33. Small though these fragments are, their great age gives them a special interest, and it is noteworthy that they concur with the next earliest extant Septuagint MS. (963, described below) in agreeing with the vellum uncials Θ and A rather than with B. Identified and edited by C. H. Roberts (*Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 1936). See Plate XIV.

961. Chester Beatty Papyrus IV. The most remarkable discovery of Greek Biblical manuscripts since Tischendorf's finding

of the Codex Sinaiticus (see below, p. 191) was made about 1930, when Mr. A. Chester Beatty, an American collector of manuscripts resident in London, acquired from a dealer in Egypt a group of papyrus leaves, which on examination proved to be portions of codices of various books of the Greek Bible, ranging from the second to the fourth centuries. Several leaves from the same find were disposed of to other owners, as will be described in their place below. It is these manuscripts that have contributed most to our knowledge alike of book production and of the history of the text of the Greek Bible for the previously obscure period before the great vellum MSS. of the fourth century. The find, which is said to have come from the region of Aphroditopolis, on the right bank of the Nile, about thirty miles above Memphis, and presumably represents the library of some early Christian church, comprised portions of seven MSS. of the Old Testament, three of the New, and one which contained part of the lost Greek original of the book of Enoch and a homily on the Passion by Melito, bishop of Sardis in the third quarter of the second century. The texts of all the Biblical texts have been edited by the present writer (*The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, fasc. i.-vii., 1933-7), and full photographic facsimiles by Messrs. Emery Walker have also been published. The Enoch text has been edited by Prof. Campbell Bonner, of Michigan University, who also has edited the homily of Melito, which he was the first to identify. The New Testament portion of the collection is described below (pp. 187-189). Of the Old Testament MSS. the two first contain large portions of the book of Genesis, which are particularly welcome because the two oldest vellum MSS., the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus, lack all except a few verses of this book. **961** consists of fifty leaves, all more or less mutilated, out of an original total of sixty-six, written in double columns in a rather large and thick uncial hand of the fourth century. Subject to many mutilations, it contains the text of Gen. ix. 1-xliv. 22.

**962.** Chester Beatty Papyrus V. Twenty-seven leaves (seventeen of which are nearly perfect) out of an original total of eighty-four, written in a document hand of the second half of the third century, with a single column to the page. Contains (with mutilations) Gen. viii. 13-ix. 1, xxiv. 13-xxv. 21, xxx. 24-xlvi. 33. From the three papyrus MSS. **911**, **961** and **962**, which show many affinities with one another, we now have substantial evidence for the text of Genesis circulating in Egypt about the end of the third century.

**963.** Chester Beatty Papyrus VI. Portions of fifty leaves (of

which twenty-eight are substantially preserved) out of an original total of 108, of a codex containing the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, written in a small and good hand which cannot be later than the middle of the second century, with two columns to the page (Plate XV). It is thus the earliest extant MS. of the Greek Bible with the exception of 957 and Fouad 266 (p. 118), and the earliest example of a papyrus codex at present known. It contains portions of Numbers from v. 12 onwards (principally xxv.-xxxvi.) and of Deut. i. 20-xii. 17, xviii. 22-end. A few fragments of this MS. are in the possession of the University of Michigan. It is noteworthy that while the text of Numbers is most akin to that of B, in Deuteronomy it is conspicuously not in agreement with B, but rather with G and Θ.

**964.** Chester Beatty Papyrus XI. One complete leaf and one incomplete of a codex of Ecclesiasticus containing Ecclus. xxxvi. 28-xxxvii. 22, xlv. 6-11, 16-xlvii. 2. Written in a large rough hand, probably of the fourth century.

**965.** Chester Beatty Papyrus VII. Fragments of thirty-three leaves, out of an estimated total of 112, of which the last eight were blank, of a codex of Isaiah, written in a beautiful hand, apparently of the first half of the third century. Two of the leaves are the property of Mr. W. Merton, and several fragments were originally acquired by the University of Michigan, but were courteously ceded to Mr. Chester Beatty. The text of all has been edited together. It contains scattered fragments between Isa. viii. 18-xix. 13, xxxviii. 14-xlv. 5, liv. 1-lx. 22, with a few marginal notes in Coptic (a very early example of this writing, without the additional letters which were eventually adopted). The text agrees with Q and Γ and less with A, κ and B, in that order.

**966.** Chester Beatty Papyrus VIII. Small portions of two leaves of a codex of Jeremiah, containing Jer. iv. 30-v. 1, 9-14, 23, 24, written probably about the end of the second century. Has affinities with Q.

**967, 968.** Chester Beatty Papyri IX, X. Twenty-nine imperfect leaves of a codex containing the books of Ezekiel, Daniel and Esther. The Daniel leaves were originally described as a separate MS., hence the double numeration. Subsequently an American collector, Mr. John H. Scheide, acquired twenty-one perfect leaves of the Ezekiel portion of the MS., with the page numeration preserved intact. When complete, the manuscript seems to have consisted of 118 leaves, Ezekiel occupying the first half of the codex, and Daniel (including probably Susanna and Bel) and

Esther the second, which was written by a different scribe. The date is probably in the first half of the third century, though C. H. Roberts prefers the borderline of the second and third centuries. The Chester Beatty leaves (which have lost nearly half their height) contain portions of Ezek. xi. 25-xvii. 21, Dan. iii. 72-viii. 27 (chapters v. and vi. follow vii. and viii., and the preserved portion ends at vi. 18), Esther ii. 20-viii. 6; while the Scheide leaves contain Ezek. xix. 12-xxxix. 29, with gaps of five leaves. The Ezekiel and Esther texts agree markedly with B rather than with A. In Daniel the MS. is remarkable for containing the original Septuagint text, hitherto known only in a single late Greek copy and in a Syriac translation, instead of the version of Theodotion (see p. 104 above). The Scheide leaves have been deposited by their owner at the University of Princeton, and have been edited by Prof. A. C. Johnson, with the assistance of Dr. H. S. Gehman and Dr. E. H. Kase.

**2013.** Leipzig Papyrus 39. Portions of a roll, about 13 feet 6 inches long, with the Bible text written on the back of a document bearing a date equivalent to A.D. 338. It may therefore be safely assigned to the later part of the fourth century. Contains Ps. xxx.-lv., but the first five Psalms are much mutilated. The text is akin to that of U. Edited by C. F. Heinrici (1903).

**2019.** British Museum Papyrus 230. Acquired in 1893 with a parcel of papyri from the Fayum. Two columns, apparently of a roll, written about the end of the third century. Contains Ps. xi. (xii.) 7-xiv. (xv.) 4. A second hand has marked off the syllables by dots, presumably for singing or reading. On the back is a portion of a speech by Isocrates, similarly marked, which seems to show that the book was used for school instruction. The Psalter text was edited by the present writer in *Biblical MSS. in the British Museum* (1900).

**2055.** Papyrus Società Italiana 980. Two leaves of a codex, containing Ps. cxliii. (cxliv.) 14-cxlviii. 3. Late third or fourth century. Its text agrees in several instances with that of the corrector of the Codex Sinaiticus known as  $\kappa^{c.a.}$ . Edited by G. Vitelli (1927).

Papyrus Fouad 266, at Cairo, containing parts of two columns of the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxi. 28-xxxii. 7) written by a Jew in a fine uncial hand. The Divine Name is written in the square Hebrew characters. The date is second or first century B.C., and in point of age may be compared with the Rylands fragment of Deuteronomy, **957** above.

In 1950 C. H. Roberts published the first volume of a new series of papyrus fragments which were found by Dr. John Johnson in the winter of 1913-14 at Sheikh Abadeh in Egypt, the site of the ancient Antinoopolis. Six of them are Biblical, ranging from the second to the fourth centuries. No. 7 contains fragments of Psalm lxxxi. 1-4 and lxxxii. 4-9, 16-17 from the second century. No. 8, the most important, comes from the third century and contains numerous fragments of Proverbs, Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus which belonged to a codex probably containing the other sapiential books as well. The Proverbs fragments constitute the first substantial papyrus contribution to this book, in a text remarkable for "a large number of readings which are either unique or found only in the Hebrew or translations other than the Septuagint". It also has a marked tendency to agree with the much later manuscript N-V (see below) against the Greek uncials. In Roberts's view it is a pre-Origen text considerably influenced by other translations, perhaps accommodated to the Hebrew, and probably sharing a common ancestor with N-V. The few Wisdom fragments are "highly eccentric", while Ecclesiasticus is unremarkable. No. 9 also contains fragments of Proverbs (ii. 9-15, iii. 13-17) in a text differing considerably from the main uncials and with a tendency to go with N-V, though not so much as No. 8. It is probably of third-century date. No. 10 comes from the fourth century and contains Ezekiel xxxiii. 27-31, xxxiv. 1-5, 18-24, 27-30, in a text which, at this stage, is remarkably independent. Its support of unique readings in the Scheide papyrus (968 above) suggests a common ancestry, though it has peculiarities of its own.

Several other small fragments appear to be assignable to the third or fourth century, but they are too small to be of much importance. Among them, however, may be mentioned as a curiosity Amherst Papyrus III, on the back of which are written, in a hand of the first half of the fourth century, the first five verses of Genesis, first in the Septuagint version and then in that of Aquila (see p. 108 above), our knowledge of which is thus slightly increased.

## 2. *Vellum Uncials*

Next follow the vellum uncial manuscripts, in the alphabetical order of the letters by which they are commonly indicated, with fuller descriptions of the most important.

Ⲁ (*Aleph*, the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet) stands for the famous *Codex Sinaiticus* (sometimes designated by the letter S),



one of the two oldest copies, apart from the papyri just described, of the Greek Bible. The story of the romantic discovery of this manuscript in the last century, when part of it was in the very act of being consumed as fuel, must be reserved for Chapter VIII. For the present it must suffice to say that it was first seen by the great German Biblical scholar, Constantine Tischendorf, in 1844, in the monastery of St. Catherine, at Mount Sinai. At his first visit he secured forty-three leaves belonging to the Old Testament, and presented them to his patron, King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, who placed them in the Court Library at Leipzig, where they still remain, with the name of the Codex Friderico-Augustanus. A subsequent visit brought to light 199 more leaves of the Old Testament and the whole of the New Testament; and these ultimately found a home in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, until in 1933 the whole MS. was sold by the Soviet Government to the British Museum, where it is now Add. MS. 43725. Parts of three more leaves were subsequently discovered in the bindings of other manuscripts in the library of Mount Sinai; these were also acquired for St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) where they still remain. The manuscript was written in the fourth century, in a beautiful uncial hand; and it is extremely unfortunate that so much of the Old Testament has been lost. The parts which survive include fragments of Gen. xxiii., xxiv., and of Num. v., vi., vii.; 1 Chron. ix. 27-xix. 17; 2 Esdras (i.e. canonical Ezra-Nehemiah) ix. 9-end; Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1 Macc., 4 Macc., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lament. i. 1-ii. 20, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum to Malachi, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Job. Three different scribes were employed on the writing of it, besides several correctors, the most important of whom were some scholars (indicated by the symbol  $\aleph^{c.a}$  or  $\aleph^{c.b}$ ) who seem to have worked on the MS. at Cæsarea at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century. In notes in this hand at the end of Esdras and Esther it is stated that the MS. was collated with an exceedingly ancient MS. which itself had been corrected by the martyr Pamphilus and had an autograph note by him, saying that he had corrected it in prison from Origen's own copy of the Hexapla. The text is similar in type to B, except in Tobit, which has a different recension. A facsimile of a page of this beautiful and most valuable manuscript is given in Plate XXIII.

A. *Codex Alexandrinus*, in the British Museum. This was probably written in the first half of the fifth century, and contains the whole

Bible, except Gen. xiv. 14-17; xv. 1-5, 16-19; xvi. 6-9; 1 Kingdoms [= 1 Sam.] xii. 18-xiv. 9; Ps. xlix. (l.) 20-lxxix. (lxxx.) 11, and some parts of the New Testament, which have been lost through accidental mutilation. It includes all four books of the Maccabees, for which it is the principal authority. Before the Psalms are placed the Epistle of Athanasius to Marcellinus on the Psalter, and the summary of the contents of the Psalms by Eusebius. At the end of the Psalms is an additional psalm (the 151st), which is found in some other early manuscripts, and a number of canticles, or chants, extracted from other parts of the Bible (for instance, the songs of Moses, in Deut. xxxii., of Hannah, in 1 Kingd. ii. 1-10, and the Magnificat), which were used in the services of the Church. The apocryphal Psalms of Solomon were originally added at the end of the New Testament, but the leaves containing them have been lost. Two scribes were employed on the Old Testament portion of the MS., one of whom wrote the Octateuch (i.e. Genesis-Ruth), Prophets, Maccabees, and the poetical books Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, and the other the historical books (1-4 Kingdoms, 1-2 Chronicles, Esther, Tobit, Judith, 1-2 Esdras) and Psalms. For the history of the manuscript and a specimen of its writing, see pp. 198-202 and Plate XXIV.

B. *Codex Vaticanus*, in the Vatican Library at Rome. It contains the whole Bible, written in the fourth century, and is (apart from the papyri) the oldest and generally the best extant copy of the Septuagint. It is nearly perfect, wanting only Gen. i. 1-xlvi. 28; 2 Kingd. [= 2 Sam.] ii. 5-7, 10-13; Ps. cv. (cvi.) 27-cxxxvii. (cxxxviii.) 6 of its original contents, so far as the Old Testament is concerned; but the Prayer of Manasses and the books of Maccabees were never included in it. The text of the current editions of the Septuagint are mainly derived from this manuscript. Its quality differs in different books. In Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Chronicles and 1-2 Esdras, it seems to be inferior to A, but elsewhere on the whole superior. In Judges it has quite a different text, which is found also in the Sahidic version and in Cyril of Alexandria (both, it will be observed, from Egypt, where B was probably written); but in Job it differs from the Sahidic in having the additions from Theodotion made by Origen in his Hexapla. In other books, e.g. Psalms, its text is believed to be pre-Hexaplar. (See pp. 202-6 and Plate XXV (i).)

C. *Codex Ephraemi*, in the National Library at Paris. (See pp. 206-7 and Plate XXV (ii).) This is a *palimpsest*; that is, the

original writing has been partially washed or scraped out in order that the vellum might be used again to hold some other work—in this case a theological treatise. The result is that only parts of the original writing can now be read; and, in addition, most of the leaves containing the Old Testament have been lost. The sixty-four leaves which remain contain parts of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus and the Song of Solomon, written in the fifth century.

The manuscripts hitherto mentioned were originally complete Greek Bibles, containing both the Old and the New Testaments. Those which follow do not appear ever to have included the New Testament, and many of them only a portion of the Old.

D. *The Cotton Genesis*. One of the most lamentable sights in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum is that of the charred remains of many manuscripts of the greatest value which were burnt in the fire among Sir R. Cotton's books in 1731. Perhaps the most valuable of all the volumes then destroyed was this copy of the book of Genesis, written in a fine uncial hand of the fifth century, and adorned with 250 illustrations in a manner evidently derived directly from the ancient Greek style of painting. The remains of this once beautiful manuscript still show the general character of the writing and the miniatures, but in a lamentably shrunken and defaced condition. Fortunately the manuscript had been examined and its text carefully collated by Grabe before the fire; and from this collation its evidence for the text of Genesis is now known.

E. *The Bodleian Genesis*, at Oxford. Written in the tenth century, but, though thus considerably later than the copies hitherto mentioned, it contains a good text. The following passages are wanting, owing to mutilation of the manuscript: Gen. xiv. 7-xviii. 24, xx. 14-xxiv. 54. The manuscript at Oxford, which is commonly known as the Bodleian Genesis, ends at xlii. 18, but a leaf at Cambridge contains xlii. 18-xliv. 13, one side of the leaf being written in uncials, like the Oxford leaves, while the other is in minuscules, which shows that it is part of a volume which carries on the text as far as 3 Kingd. xvi. 28. Most of this is at Leningrad, but some portions are lacking, of which the largest (Joshua xxiv. 27-end of Ruth) is in the British Museum. It was Tischendorf who disposed of the Oxford, London and Leningrad portions to their respective owners; but the tell-tale leaf which connected the uncial and minuscule portions was kept in his own possession till his death, when it was acquired by Cambridge University

and identified by Dr. H. B. Swete and H. A. Redpath. The minuscule portion has the number 509 ( $\alpha_2$  in the large Cambridge Septuagint).

F. *Codex Ambrosianus*, at Milan. Written in the fifth century, with three columns to the page, and having (what is very unusual in early manuscripts) punctuation, accents, and breathings by the original scribe. It contains Gen. xxxi. 15–Joshua xii. 12, with many losses, however, from mutilation, and small fragments of Isaiah and Malachi. Its evidence is valuable, and where A and B differ it generally agrees with A.

G. *Codex Sarravianus*: 130 leaves at Leyden, twenty-two at Paris, and one at Leningrad. A very fine manuscript, probably of the fifth century, though it has sometimes been attributed to the fourth. It is written with two columns to the page, and (like the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. above) has no enlarged initials. It contains portions of the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges, and its special characteristic is that it contains a Hexaplar text. It is provided with Origen's asterisks and obeli; but, unfortunately, as in all other MSS. of this class, these symbols have been very imperfectly reproduced, so that we cannot depend absolutely on it to recover the text as it was before Origen's additions and alterations. Plate XVI shows (in reduced form) the page containing Deut. xvi. 22–xvii. 8. Asterisks will be seen in the margins of both columns. That near the bottom of the first column indicates that words corresponding to "and thou hast heard of it" in xvii. 4 were not found in the original Greek of the Septuagint, but were inserted by Origen to make it correspond with the Hebrew. Similarly the asterisks in the second column show that in xvii. 5 the words "which have committed that wicked thing, unto thy gates, even that man or that woman" were not in the original Septuagint, but were inserted by Origen from the Hebrew. Both passages occur in our Authorized Version, which of course follows the Hebrew; but they are not in the best MSS. of the Septuagint, though A and F have the second passage, which is a sign that they have been affected by Hexaplaric influences.

H. *Codex Petropolitanus*, a palimpsest at Leningrad, of the sixth century; contains portions of the book of Numbers.

I. A Bodleian MS. of the Psalms (including, like A, the canticles) of the ninth century. It was wrongly included by Holmes and Parsons among the cursive MSS., and numbered 13. In its margin many readings are given from Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and from the 'fifth' and 'seventh' versions (see p. 105).

K. *Codex Lipsiensis*. Twenty-two palimpsest leaves at Leipzig, of the seventh century, containing fragments of Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges.

L. *The Vienna Genesis*: a splendid MS. at Vienna, written in silver letters upon purple vellum, and adorned with illustrations, which, like those of D, recall the classical style of painting. It is of the fifth or sixth century, and contains portions of the book of Genesis on twenty-four leaves.

M. *Codex Coislinianus*, at Paris: a handsome MS. of the seventh century, containing the earlier books of the Old Testament, from Genesis to 3 Kingd. viii. 40, though mutilated in places. This MS. belongs to the same class as G, containing a Hexaplar text with the signs in the margin.

N-V. *Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus*, at Rome and Venice; written in sloping uncials of the eighth or ninth century. It consists of two volumes, both of which have, unfortunately, been much mutilated. In their present condition, the first (N, at Rome) contains from Lev. xiii. 59 to the end of Chronicles (with some lacunæ), 1 Esdras i. 1-ix. 1, 2 Esdras (i.e. the canonical Ezra-Nehemiah) v. 10-xvii. 3, and Esther; the second (V, at Venice) begins with Job xxx. 8, and contains the rest of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Minor Prophets, Major Prophets, Tobit, Judith and the four books of the Maccabees. Until quite recently the two volumes were regarded as different MSS. In conjunction with B, V was used for the Roman edition of the Septuagint, published in 1587, which has been the edition in common use until the appearance of Swete's edition in 1887-94. The person who examined it for Holmes and Parsons omitted to tell the editors that it was written in uncials, and it consequently appears in their list among the cursives, with the number 23, while its first volume takes its proper place among the uncials. The text is Lucianic.

O. *Codex Dublinensis Rescriptus*, at Trinity College, Dublin. This is a palimpsest, like C, but consists of only eight leaves, containing portions of Isaiah, written early in the sixth century. Its special value is due to the fact that it was written in Egypt and apparently provides us with information as to the text of the edition by Hesychius, which circulated in that country.

P. Fragments of Psalms, at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; originally reckoned by Holmes and Parsons among the cursives, as No. 294, but subsequently placed among the uncials (No. IX).

Q. *Codex Marchalianus*, in the Vatican Library at Rome. This is

a most valuable copy of the Prophets, written in Egypt in the sixth century, in a fine bold uncial hand. The editor of this manuscript, Dr. Ceriani, believed that the text, as originally written, is that of Hesychius; and its value is still further increased by the fact that an almost contemporary hand has added a great number of various readings in the margin from a copy of the Hexaplar text. These marginal readings include the additions made by Origen, generally accompanied by the proper critical marks (the obelus or asterisk), together with readings from Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. Plate XVII gives a representation of a page of this manuscript (the whole of which has been published in a photographic facsimile) containing Ezek. v. 12-17.<sup>1</sup> In the margin will be seen several asterisks, which are repeated in the line itself at the point at which the insertion begins (e.g. lines 6, 10) and before the beginning of each line of the passage affected, while the metobelus, indicating the close of the inserted passage, is represented by a sort of semicolon (e.g. lines 2, 7). In most cases the name of the version from which the inserted passage was taken is indicated by an initial in the margin, α standing for Aquila (e.g. line 1), θ for Theodotion (lines 6, 11, 15, 17, 22), and σ or σς for Symmachus. Where Hesychius has introduced words on his own account which were not in the original Septuagint, the asterisk indicating such words has been written by the original scribe, and has ample space allowed it in the writing; but the great majority of the critical signs have been added by the reviser, and show that the insertion had already been made by Origen in his Hexaplar text, which Hesychius often followed. The small writing in the margin consists of notes added in the thirteenth century, of no textual importance.

R. *Verona Psalter*, containing both Greek and Latin versions of the Psalms, written in the sixth century. Several canticles are added, as in A, and the 151st Psalm has been supplied by a later hand. The Greek is written in Latin letters.

T. *Zürich Psalter*, in its original state a splendid manuscript, written in silver letters with gold initials upon purple vellum. Several leaves are now missing. The canticles are included. Written in the seventh century, and often agrees with the readings of A, and even more with  $\aleph^{ca}$ . Readings of the Gallican version are found in the margin.

<sup>1</sup> A papyrus fragment of this same passage, also containing the Hexaplar text and symbols, was acquired in Egypt by Mr. B. P. Grenfell in 1894-5, and is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It was apparently written about the fourth century.

U. See above, p. 114.

V. *Codex Venetus*; see N-V above.

W. Fragments of Psalms, at Paris, of the ninth century. Included by Holmes and Parsons among the cursives, as No. 43.

X. A MS. in the Vatican at Rome, containing most of Job, of the ninth century. Included by Holmes and Parsons among the cursives, as No. 258. Hexaplaric notes are frequent at the beginning.

Y. *Codex Taurinensis*, at Turin, of the ninth century, containing the Minor Prophets.

Z<sup>a</sup>, Z<sup>b</sup>, Z<sup>c</sup>, Z<sup>d</sup>, Z<sup>e</sup>, are small fragments of various books, of slight importance.

Γ (*Gamma*, the third letter of the Greek alphabet, those of the Latin alphabet being now exhausted). *Codex Cryptoferratensis*, at Grotta Ferrata, in Italy; palimpsest fragments of the Prophets, written in the eighth or ninth century. Much of the original writing has been hopelessly obliterated. It is remarkable that most of the Greek manuscripts in the monastery of Grotta Ferrata are palimpsests, showing how scarce vellum was there, and how the literary activity of the monks caused them to use the same sheets twice over, and sometimes even thrice.

Δ (*Delta*, the fourth letter of the Greek alphabet). Fragments of Bel and the Dragon, according to the version of Theodotion, written in the fifth century, if not earlier; in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Θ (*Theta*, the eighth letter of the Greek alphabet). *Codex Washingtonianus I*, in the Freer Collection at Washington, containing the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua, of the sixth century. The quire-numeration shows that it originally included the previous books of the Pentateuch, and Judges and Ruth may have been appended. In text it agrees more with A than with B, and even more closely in Deuteronomy with G and Chester Beatty VI (963 above) and the minuscules 54 and 75. The manuscript was acquired in Egypt by Mr. C. L. Freer in 1906, together with 1219 and two New Testament MSS. (see below, pp. 214, 215).

Π (*Pi*, the sixteenth letter of the Greek alphabet). Fragments of 4 Maccabees, of the ninth century, at St. Petersburg.

1219. *Codex Washingtonianus II*, in the Freer Collection; 107 fragmentary leaves of a Psalter, of the sixth or seventh century. The last quire, from Ps. cxlii. 5 to cli. 6, is a later addition, of the ninth century. The earlier part of the codex is particularly incomplete. The text is akin to that of A.

The catalogue above given shows the material now available

in the shape of uncial manuscripts. The most important of them are, no doubt, B, A and (where it is available)  $\aleph$ , and, in their own special departments, G and Q.

### 3. *Minuscules*

The cursive manuscripts of the Septuagint are far too numerous to be described in detail. In the great edition of Holmes and Parsons no less than 278<sup>1</sup> such manuscripts are described, and their various readings quoted. It may be of some interest, however, as showing the amount of evidence available for each part of the Old Testament to indicate which manuscripts contain, in full or in part, each of the chief groups of books. The following sixty-four MSS. contain the Pentateuch, or part of it: Nos. 14-20, 25, 28-32, 37-8, 44-7, 52-9, 61, 64, 68, 71-9, 82-5, 105-8, 118, 120-2, 125-36, 246. Sixty-one contain the historical books: 15, 16, 18, 19, 29, 30, 38, 44, 46, 52-60, 63, 64, 68, 70-7, 82, 84, 85, 92, 93, 98, 106-8, 118-23, 125-8, 131, 134, 158, 209, 236, 241-9. The Psalms are preserved in no less than 121 copies—viz.: 21, 55, 65-7, 69, 80, 81, 99-102, 104, 106, 111-15, 124, 140-3, 145, 146, 150-2, 154, 155, 162-187, 189, 191-7, 199-206, 208, 210-19, 221-3, 225-7, 251, 263-75, 277-93. The Prophets appear, more or less perfectly, in sixty-two manuscripts—viz.: 22, 24, 26, 33-6, 40-2, 46, 48, 49, 51, 58, 62, 68, 70, 86-91, 93, 95-7, 104-6, 109, 114, 122, 131, 147-9, 153, 185, 198, 228-335, 238-40, 301-11. Finally there are thirty-nine manuscripts containing books of the Hagiographa: 55, 68, 70, 103, 106, 109, 110, 137-9, 147, 149, 155, 157, 159-61, 248-61, 295-300, 307<sup>a</sup>, 308<sup>a</sup>. This classification, it will be observed, applies only to MSS. in the Holmes and Parsons list; but it does not seem worth while to carry it further. The value of the cursives only appears when they can be divided into groups, showing common descent from one or other of the ancient editions of the Septuagint which have been described above. How far this is at present feasible will be shown presently.

<sup>1</sup> Nominally 311, but at least 20 of them (1-13, 27, 43, 156, 188, 190, 258, 294) are really uncials, and several manuscripts are described more than once under different numbers. Thus 33=97=238, 41=42, 56=64, 63=129, 73=237, 89=239, 94=131, 109=302, 130=144, 186=220, 221=276, 234=311. This reduces the total to 280. Since Holmes and Parsons, however, great additions have been made to the list. The official catalogue, kept formerly by Rahlfs and now by Kappler, includes all MSS. (papyri, uncials and minuscules) in a single numerical list (incorporating the H. and P. numbers with the necessary revisions). This now extends to 2,055, but with some intentional gaps to receive additions. The actual total is about 1,560.



*Printed Editions*

Such are the manuscripts on which scholars must depend for elucidating the text of the Greek Old Testament. It will be useful to describe briefly what has been done in this direction, as showing the kind and the amount of labour which scholars have bestowed on the task of making the text of the Bible as accurate as possible in every point. The first printed edition of the Septuagint was made by the Spaniard Cardinal Ximenes, who combined the Hebrew, Greek and Latin versions of the Bible in the four volumes known as the Complutensian Polyglot (dated 1514-17, but not actually issued until 1522). His Greek text was mainly based on two late MSS. in the Vatican, now known as 108 and 248, which were sent from Rome, together with other MSS. in Madrid. Meanwhile in 1518 the great printer Aldus had issued an edition based on MSS. then at Venice, which accordingly has the honour of being the first printed Septuagint in order of publication. But the most important edition in early times was the Roman, published under the patronage of Pope Sixtus in 1587. This edition rests mainly on the great Codex Vaticanus (B), though with many errors and divergences,<sup>1</sup> and uses a considerable number of other MSS., including N-V; it remained the standard text of the Septuagint until the appearance of Swete's edition, mentioned below. In 1707-20 a very good edition of the Codex Alexandrinus (A), supplemented from other MSS. where A is deficient, was published by the Anglo-Prussian scholar Grabe. But the greatest work on the Septuagint up to quite recent years was that which R. Holmes and J. Parsons produced at Oxford in 1798-1827. In this colossal work the Roman text of 1587 is reprinted without variation, but in the critical notes are given the various readings of no less than 300 manuscripts, as above described. Unfortunately many of these MSS. were very imperfectly examined by the persons employed for the task by the editors, so that much of the work has had to be done over again; but the edition of Holmes and Parsons remains the only complete one which gives a general view of the manuscript evidence, and has been the basis of all study of the Septuagint text since their day. Of later editors it is only necessary to mention Tischendorf, who between 1850 and 1869 produced four editions based on the Roman text, with variants from  $\aleph$ , A, C, and in part B (seventh edition in 1887, by Dr. Nestle); Field, who edited the remains of

<sup>1</sup> It has been estimated that the Roman text differs from that of B in over 4,000 places.

the Hexapla in 1875; Lagarde, who in 1883 published an attempt to recover the edition of Lucian, besides many other valuable contributions to the criticism of the Septuagint; and Dr. Swete, of Cambridge, who in 1887-94 produced an edition giving the text of the Septuagint according to the best MS. extant in each part (B, wherever it is available, elsewhere  $\aleph$  or A), with all the variants in three or four of the next best manuscripts. This was the first stage in a project envisaging eventual production of a full critical edition, which would replace Holmes and Parsons in the light of all the information accumulated since their day. The editorship of this larger Cambridge edition was entrusted to Dr. A. E. Brooke, Dr. N. McLean, and later H. St. John Thackeray, who since 1906 have produced nine parts, containing the Octateuch and the later historical books (1-4 Kingdoms, 1-2 Chronicles, 1-2 Esdras and Esther, Judith and Tobit). In this edition the text is in the main the same as that of Swete, but the critical apparatus includes the readings of all the papyri and uncials and a large selection of minuscules specially collated, together with all the principal versions and the quotations in the Fathers.

Another large critical edition was planned by the Septuaginta-Kommission of Göttingen, but has been seriously delayed by adverse conditions. The German scholars have wisely devoted their attention primarily to books which have not been reached by the Cambridge editors. The Psalter was published by Rahlfs in 1931, and 1 Maccabees by Kappler in 1936; since when have appeared Isaiah (1939), Minor Prophets (1943), Ezekiel (1952), and Susanna, Daniel, Bel and the Dragon (1954), Jeremiah (1957), all edited by Ziegler. Further, an edition of Genesis, on a reduced scale, was published in 1926; and in 1935 Rahlfs produced a handy edition of the whole Septuagint in two volumes, with a revised text based upon  $\aleph$  AB and a short apparatus with variants from these and a few other MSS. As compared with the smaller Cambridge edition, this gives a reconstructed text (instead of merely reprinting the text of a selected MS., right or wrong), but a smaller critical apparatus.

#### *Reconstruction of the Text and its History*

Much has thus been accomplished, yet the work that remains to be done in connexion with the text of the Septuagint is still very considerable. One line of attack, which has much engaged scholars in Germany, is the attempt to disentangle the early recensions of the Septuagint and then, by reconstructing the pre-Hexaplaric text, to push back farther still to the original text. It was with this

hope that the great German scholar Lagarde as a first step published in 1883 his edition of the Lucianic text as far as Esther. But it was not successful, since it became clear that the manuscripts which he regarded as Lucianic were only partly so; and although this method has been carried on by Lagarde's pupil Rahlfs and others, the result does not seem to justify the immense amount of labour that has been bestowed upon it. Indeed, if Kahle is right, the method is doomed to failure, since even if it were possible to crystallize out the recensions of Origen and his successors, behind them we should find not the 'original text' of the Septuagint, or anything approaching it, but only another prospect of varying textual forms derived from the indiscriminate revision and mixture of the early Greek versions. But although it is impossible—or at any rate an excessively complicated and laborious business—to produce definitive editions of Origen or Lucian or Hesychius, it is possible to find manuscripts with characteristics of one or other of these recensions and to group them accordingly, if sometimes rather tentatively. In this we are helped by the evidence afforded by quotations in the writings of the early Fathers whose places of residence we know, from which it is possible to localize the varieties of text and say that one group represent the Antiochian edition of Lucian, and another the Alexandrian edition of Hesychius.

1. *Eusebius*. The most recognizable of the three editions is that of Eusebius and Pamphilus, which in fact reproduced the text fixed by Origen. For this the leading authorities are the Syriac translation by Bishop Paul of Tella, which contains the Prophets and Hagiographa, with Origen's apparatus of asterisks and obeli; the Codex Sarravianus (G), containing large parts of the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges; the Codex Coishinianus (M), containing the same books, together with those of Samuel and Kings; the cursive MSS. 54 and (except in Genesis) 75 in the Octateuch, and 86 and 88 in the Prophets; and the copious marginal notes in the Codex Marchalianus (Q), which give Hexaplar readings with an indication of the author (Aquila, Symmachus or Theodotion) from whom they were taken.

2. *Hesychius*. The edition of Hesychius and its identification is still involved in some uncertainty. As the edition which circulated in Egypt, it seems likely that it would be found in MSS. written in that country, in the Coptic versions, which were made from the Septuagint for the use of the native Egyptians, and in the writings of the Alexandrian Fathers, such as Cyril. Good authorities differ,

however, as to the Greek manuscripts in which this edition is to be looked for. Ceriani assigned to it the Codex Alexandrinus (A), the original text of the Codex Marchalianus (Q), the Dublin fragments of Isaiah (O), and the cursives 26, 106, 198, 306 (all of the Prophets). The German professor, Cornill, however, also dealing with MSS. containing the Prophets, found the Hesychian version in 49, 68, 87, 90 (Ezekiel only), 91, 228, 238, with the Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Old Latin versions. These are akin to the above-mentioned group represented by A, 26, etc., but have (in his opinion) more of the appearance of an authorized edition, in which marked peculiarities of text, such as there are in A, are not to be expected. The question cannot be solved without further investigation, to which it may be hoped that the large Cambridge edition will considerably contribute.

3. *Lucian*. Next to the Hexaplaric edition of Eusebius the most recognizable is that of Lucian. Certain direct references to it in early writers, and the statement that it was the standard text in Antioch and Constantinople, have disposed modern editors to recognize it in certain extant manuscripts and in the copious Biblical quotations of Chrysostom and Theodoret. The first suggestion to this effect seems to have been made by Dr. Ceriani, of Milan, and it was simultaneously worked out by Field, in the Prolegomena to his *Hexapla*, and by Lagarde, who produced a text of half the Old Testament (Genesis-Esther) according to this edition, the completion of it being prevented by his lamented death. No uncial MS. contains a Lucianic text, with the exception of the Codex Venetus (N-V). In the books Genesis-Judges it appears in the cursives 19, 108, 118; in the historical books, 19, 82, 93, 108, 118; in the Prophets, 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 93, 144, 231, 308. The text of the Hagiographa has not yet been investigated. A Lucianic text also appears in the Old Latin, Gothic and old Slavonic versions, and in the first printed edition of the Septuagint—the Complutensian, which was mainly taken from the MS. known as 108.

It will be observed that only a comparatively small number of manuscripts can be definitely assigned to one or other of the ancient editions, and even as to these it has to be remembered that any manuscript may have texts of different character in different books. All manuscripts eventually go back to a period when each book was contained in a separate roll or rolls; and when they were combined into single codices, there could be no guarantee that all the rolls copied into a single codex were of the same textual

type. Thus 75, which is Origenian in Deuteronomy, is said to be Lucianic in Genesis; and the papyrus 963 has quite different textual affinities in Numbers and Deuteronomy.

### *Texts of the Great Uncials*

The majority of the minuscules are later copies containing mixed and corrupt texts, which will be of little use towards the recovery of the original form of the Septuagint. There remain, however, some of the early uncial manuscripts, including the oldest of all, the great Codex Vaticanus (B). Cornill at one time suggested that B was based on the edition of Eusebius, with the omission of all the passages therein marked by asterisks as insertions from the Hebrew; but this view has been abandoned, and it is more probable (as stated by Dr. Hort) that it is akin to the manuscripts which Origen used as the foundation of his Hexapla. Origen would, no doubt, have taken as his basis of operations the best copies of the Septuagint then available; and if B is found to contain a text like that used by Origen, it is a strong testimony in its favour. Hence it is commonly held to be, on the whole, the best and most neutral of all the manuscripts of the Septuagint; and it is a happy accident that it has formed the foundation of the commonly received text—that, namely, of the Roman edition of 1587. It is becoming clear, however, that the character of B is not uniform throughout (see above, p. 121). Between B and A the differences of reading are sometimes very strongly marked, and the divergences have not yet by any means been explained. All conclusions are at present tentative and provisional, and the best scholars are the least positive as to the certainty of their results. Of the other great manuscripts,  $\aleph$  seems to contain a text intermediate between A and B, though in the book of Tobit it has a form of the text completely different from both. In the Psalms the seventh-century corrector is said to have done his work on the basis of a Lucianic text. Ceriani considers that  $\aleph$  shows some traces of Hesychian influence. He makes the same claim for C; but of this the fragments are so scanty that it is difficult to arrive at any positive conclusion.

### *Comparison of Septuagint with Massoretic Text*

But although many points of detail still remain obscure, we yet know quite enough about the Septuagint to be able to state broadly the relation in which it stands to the Massoretic Hebrew text. And here it is that the great interest and importance of the Septuagint becomes evident. Rightly or wrongly, it is certain that

the Septuagint differs from the Massoretic text to a very marked extent. Words and phrases constantly differ; details which depend upon figures and numbers, such as the ages of the patriarchs in the early chapters of Genesis, show great discrepancies; whole verses, and even longer passages, appear in the one text and not in the other; the arrangement of the contents of several books varies very largely. The discrepancies are least in the Pentateuch, the words of which were no doubt held most sacred by all Jews, and so would be less likely to suffer change either in the Hebrew or in the Greek. But in the books of Kingdoms, the Septuagint departs frequently from the Massoretic text; the student of the Variorum Bible may be referred for examples to 1 Kingd. iv. 1; v. 6; x. 1; xiii. 1, 15; xiv. 24, 41; xv. 13; 2 Kingd. iv. 6-7; xi. 23; xvii. 3; xx. 18, 19; 3 Kingd. ii. 29; viii. 1; xii. 2, 3, 4-24. In the narrative of David and Goliath the variations are especially striking; for the best MSS. of the Septuagint omit 1 Kingd. xvii. 12-31, 41, 50, 55-8, together with xviii. 1-5, 9-11, 17-19, and the rest of the references to Merab. In the book of Job the original text of the Septuagint omitted nearly one-sixth of the whole (see p. 137). In Jeremiah the order of the prophecies differs greatly, chapters xlvi.-li. being inserted (in a different order) after chapter xxv. 13, while the following passages are altogether omitted: x. 6-8, 10; xvii. 1-4; xxvii. 1, 7, 13, and a great part of 17-22; xxix. 16-20; xxxiii. 14-26; xxxix. 4-13. Even if we reduce the number of minor variations as much as possible (and very many of them may be due to mistakes on the part of the Septuagint translators, to different methods of supplying the vowels in the Hebrew text, to different divisions of the words of the Hebrew, or to a freedom of translation which amounts to paraphrase), yet these larger discrepancies, the list of which the reader of the Variorum Bible may easily increase for himself, are sufficient to show that the Hebrew text which lay before the authors of the Septuagint differed very considerably from that which the Massorettes have handed down to us. What the explanation of this difference may be, or which of the two texts is generally to be preferred, are questions to which it would be rash, in the present state of our knowledge, to pretend to give a decided answer. Some statement of the case is, however, necessary for those who wish to understand what the evidence for our present Old Testament text really is; but it will be better to postpone the discussion of it until we have completed the list of the versions from which some light upon the question may be expected. Some

of them help us to reconstruct the text of the Septuagint; others tell us of the condition of the Hebrew text at dates later than those at which the Greek versions were made; all in some degree help forward our main purpose—the history of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament.

#### § 4. OTHER EASTERN VERSIONS

*The Syriac Versions.* Syriac was the language of Syria and Mesopotamia, sometimes called East Aramaic to distinguish it from the closely related West Aramaic which was spoken in Palestine in the time of our Lord's life on earth. In the case of the New Testament, as we shall see, several translations into Syriac were made; but of the Old Testament there was (apart from Paul of Tella's version of Origen's Hexaplar text mentioned above, p. 107, and some other late translations from the Septuagint of which only fragments remain) only one, and that the one which is and always has been the version of the Syriac Churches. It is known as the Peshitta, or 'simple' version, but whether this was to distinguish it from Paul of Tella's with its apparatus of signs and variant readings is uncertain. The origins of the Peshitta Old Testament have also not been satisfactorily cleared up, since some of the evidence indicates that it was the work of Christians, some that of Jewish translators. Thus although in many cases the text agrees with the Hebrew, and, what is more remarkable, with the Palestinian Targum, there are other passages which seem to presuppose the Septuagint.

The Pentateuch was the first part of the Old Testament to be translated, and the relation to the Hebrew and the Targum has been accounted for in various ways: that it was the work of Jewish Christians; that the Christian translators employed Jewish Targums; or that the Syrian Christians commissioned Jewish scholars to do the work for them. But the view has been gaining ground that the Syriac Pentateuch, if not the rest of the Old Testament, was made by Jews for a Jewish community. It would be natural to think of Edessa as the headquarters of the translation, but Kahle has suggested the little kingdom of Adiabene, east of the River Tigris, whose royal house was converted to Judaism about A.D. 40. Here the need for a version of the Jewish Law was met, if not by an adaptation into East Aramaic of the Palestinian West Aramaic Targum, at any rate by drawing heavily on its help. As for the rest of the books of the Old Testament, they show very considerable variety both of style and

method, and are clearly the work of different hands at different times. Thus Proverbs is close to the Targum, as is Ezekiel; Isaiah and the Minor Prophets are somewhat freely translated, while Ruth is a paraphrase and Job and the Song of Songs are very literally rendered.

The Peshitta version originally omitted the books of the Apocrypha, which were added from the Greek, and the Syriac version is often useful in correcting errors which have found their way into the Septuagint text—except in the case of Ecclesiasticus, which was translated from the Hebrew and then revised from the Greek. The Peshitta was also originally without Chronicles, which was supplied from a Jewish Targum. At a later date the whole version was revised by comparison with the Septuagint, but here again the work is very uneven: Genesis, Psalms and the Prophetic books showing most evidence, and others like Job and Proverbs scarcely any. Hence the value of the Peshitta for the textual critic is variable also. Later still another Syriac translation of the Old and New Testaments was made by Philoxenus of Mabug at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. from the Septuagint, and the version of Paul of Tella early in the seventh century from the Hexapla has already been mentioned (see p. 107). Neither had any great influence in the Syrian churches, and of the Philoxenian Old Testament little survives. More important for the history of the Peshitta was the effect of the Nestorian heresy, which rent the Syrian Church, and caused the Nestorians to move eastwards into Persia. They were active missionaries, and from their headquarters at Nisibis penetrated into China, as well as into India, where in the Church of St. Thomas the Syriac Bible and liturgy continued in use down to recent times. The ecclesiastical as well as geographical isolation of the Nestorian Church preserved its Bible from further revisions, and consequently Eastern MSS. are regarded as having a better text.

A considerable number of Peshitta manuscripts are known, most of them forming part of a splendid collection of Syriac manuscripts which were secured for the British Museum in 1842 from the monastery at St. Mary Deipara, situated in the Nitrian Desert in Egypt. Among these is one dated in the year A.D. 464, which has the distinction of being the oldest copy of the Bible in any language of which the exact date is known. We thus have direct evidence of the text of this version in the fifth century, and in the century before that we find copious quotations from it in the writings of two Syrian Fathers Ephraem (d. A.D. 373) and



Aphraates (middle of the fourth century). Unfortunately no good printed edition of the text has yet appeared. The first, that of Gabriel Sionita, was prepared for the Paris Polyglot of 1645, but was made on the basis of a very inferior manuscript; it was reproduced (with further errors) in Walton's Polyglot. Subsequent editions have not been much better,<sup>1</sup> apart from W. E. Barnes's *Psalter according to the West Syriac text*.

*The Coptic Versions.* Coptic is the language which was used by the natives of Egypt at the time when the Bible was first translated for their use. It is indeed a modified form of the language which had been spoken in the country from time immemorial; but about the end of the first century after Christ it began, owing to the influence of the great number of Greeks settled in Egypt, to be written in Greek characters, with six additional letters, and with a considerable admixture of Greek words. It is to this form of the language that the name of Coptic was given, and it continues to the present day to be used in the services of the Christian Church in Egypt. There were, however, differences in the dialects spoken in different parts of the country, and consequently more than one translation of the Scriptures was required. The number of these dialects is still a matter of uncertainty, for the papyri discovered in Egypt of late years have been, and still are, adding considerably to our knowledge of them; but it appears that four or five different versions of the New Testament have been identified, and four of the Old. Two of these stand out as of real importance, the others being mere fragments.

The Coptic versions of the Bible are more important for the New Testament than for the Old, and it will consequently be convenient to treat of them at greater length in the chapter dealing with the versions of the New Testament. In the Old Testament they were made from the Septuagint, and consequently their evidence is mainly valuable for the purpose of restoring the Greek text, and only indirectly for the Hebrew text which lies behind the Greek. For the student of the Septuagint, however, they should be of considerable service.

Much will depend on the date at which we may suppose the native Church to have been founded, but it was certainly in existence by the second half of the third century, and some would take it back into the second. The two most important of the Coptic

<sup>1</sup> A new edition, based on a selection of the principal MSS., is being prepared for the International Organization of Old Testament Scholars under the general editorship of Prof. W. D. McHardy.

versions are: (a) the *Sahidic* or *Thebaic* version, current in Upper or southern Egypt, which is the oldest, and (b) the *Bohairic*, current in Lower or northern Egypt which eventually became the Bible of the whole Coptic Church, and is the most complete. The Sahidic exists in very considerable fragments, which have been much increased by recent discoveries. The British Museum alone has acquired a complete MS. of Deuteronomy and Jonah (with Acts) of the fourth century (edited by Walkis Budge, 1912, revised by Thompson, 1913), a seventh-century palimpsest of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Judith and Esther (edited by Sir Herbert Thompson, 1911), sixty-two leaves of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, of the same date (also edited by Thompson, 1908), and a complete Psalter, also of the seventh century (edited by Budge, 1898). An incomplete manuscript of the Psalter of about A.D. 100 at Berlin has been edited by Rahlfs (1901), and another of the sixth century in the Freer Library by W. N. Worrall (1916, 1923), who has also edited the Sahidic Proverbs (1931). Mr. Pierpont Morgan has MSS. of 1 and 2 Kingdoms, Leviticus-Deuteronomy, and Isaiah; and there are other valuable fragments elsewhere. One portion of the Sahidic version is of especial interest, for copies of the book of Job in this version have been discovered which are shorter than the received text by about one-sixth, omitting in all some 376 verses. Some scholars have thought that this represents the original form of the Hebrew, and that the passages omitted were later Jewish insertions into the book. But since the pre-Hexaplaric Greek text was also a short text, and was filled out by Origen from Theodotion, it is more likely that the Sahidic version is related to the older form of the Greek text, or that some of the material marked by Origen with an asterisk was omitted by the Coptic translators. Indeed the Sahidic Old Testament seems to have been at first free from Hexaplar additions, but to have been subsequently revised from MSS. containing these additions, presumably copies of the Hesychian text which was current in Egypt. The Sahidic version was probably made about the middle of the third century, the Bohairic somewhat later. Of the other versions in Middle Egyptian, *Memphitic* (a name formerly given to Bohairic) and *Akhmimic*, only fragments have been discovered.

*The Ethiopic Version.* With the versions of Egypt may naturally go the version of Ethiopia; but it will require only a brief notice. The Ethiopic manuscripts (many of which were acquired by the British Museum at the time of the Abyssinian War in 1867) are

of very late date, the oldest being of the thirteenth century. Christianity probably reached Abyssinia in the fifth century, but whether from Syria or Egypt is not clear. The version was, for the most part at any rate, made from the Greek, and the frequent agreements with the Hebrew are probably best explained as being due to the Hexaplaric Septuagint, or perhaps to the influence of Aramaic-speaking missionaries from Syria. Scholars have variously dated it fourth to fifth centuries (Dillmann), fifth to sixth (Guido), or before the seventh (Charles). It is likely too that the translations of the various books were made at different times during two centuries or more. The fact is that at present not a great deal is known about the version, and it has even been questioned whether the extant manuscripts really represent this translation, or a much later one, made in the fourteenth century from the Arabic or Coptic. Both Old and New Testaments are preserved entire, and critical editions of most of the books published. One special feature of the Ethiopic Old Testament deserves to be noticed. For while it lacks 1 to 4 Maccabees as well as Ezra and Nehemiah, it includes besides the ordinary books contained in the Septuagint two apocryphal books which have no place in either our Old Testament or our Apocrypha—namely, the book of Jubilees and the book of Enoch. The latter book is of special interest, from its having been quoted in the Epistle of Jude; but it was wholly lost, except for some extracts in Syncellus, until James Bruce brought back some manuscripts of it from Abyssinia in 1773, from one of which it was edited by Archbishop Laurence in 1821. The original Greek remained unknown until 1886, when a little vellum volume was discovered at Akhmim in Egypt, containing the first thirty-six chapters, along with portions of the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter. Still more recently, the last eleven chapters have been recovered from one of the papyri in Mr. Chester Beatty's collection. A new edition of the Ethiopic Bible, with the modern Amharic text in parallel columns, has been produced by the native Abyssinian Church; but this is not a critical edition.

The remaining Oriental versions may be dismissed in a few words. A few fragments remain of the *Gothic* version, made for the Goths in the fourth century by their bishop, Ulfilas, while they were still settled in Mœsia, the modern Serbia and Bulgaria. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it was taken from a copy of the Lucianic edition of the Septuagint.

The *Armenian*, *Arabic*, *Georgian* and *Slavonic* versions were all made from the Septuagint, but they have been little studied.

## § 5. THE LATIN VERSIONS

(a) *The Old Latin Version.* When Christianity reached Rome the Church which was founded there was more Greek than Latin. St. Paul wrote to it in Greek, the names of its members, so far as we know them, are Greek, and its earliest bishops were Greek: one of them, Clement, wrote an epistle to the Corinthians in Greek (c. A.D. 96) which is found along with the books of the New Testament in one of the earliest Greek Bibles, the Codex Alexandrinus. The first Roman author who is said to have written theological treatises in Latin is Pope Victor (c. A.D. 190). On the other hand it would be a mistake to assume that conditions in Rome, with its cosmopolitan population, applied equally to the rest of Italy, especially the countryside. Once Christianity pushed out from the metropolis, if not before, the need for a Latin vernacular translation would make itself felt. In the Roman province of Africa, which comprised the habitable parts of that continent lying along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, the language of Church and State alike was exclusively Latin. It is in Africa that the earliest evidence for the Latin Bible is to be found.

The importance of the Old Latin version (or *Vetus Itala*) as it is called to distinguish it from the later versions of St. Jerome, is much greater in the New Testament than the Old. In the former it is one of the earliest translations of the original Greek which we possess, and is an important witness for the state of the text in the second century. In the latter it is only the version of a version, being made from the Septuagint, not from the original Hebrew. Historically, moreover, it is of small importance, for it was almost entirely superseded by Jerome's Vulgate, and it exists today only in fragments. No entire manuscript survives of the Old Testament in this version; a few books only, and those chiefly of the Apocrypha, exist complete. For the rest we are indebted for most of our knowledge of this version to the quotations of the early Latin Fathers. Nevertheless, in the oldest form it represents the Septuagint text before Origen's revision, and its value for the reconstruction of the pre-Hexaplaric text, and from this to the pre-Massoretic Hebrew, cannot be minimized. The material, both manuscript and patristic, was collected by the Benedictine P. Sabatier and published at Rheims in three folio volumes in 1743-9, and again at Paris in 1751. Since then further evidence has accumulated and better patristic texts are available, and a new

edition of Sabatier has been begun by the Benedictine Fathers of Beuron in Germany on an enormous scale. So far only Genesis in the Old Testament has appeared (1951-4). A convenient presentation of the Old Latin evidence is at present in preparation in this country, under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by A. V. Billen, H. F. D. Sparks and A. W. Adams, and it is hoped that this too will shortly begin to appear.

As has been said, the Old Latin version is first known in Africa, and is quoted by Tertullian (d. c. 220) who certainly had a partial if not complete Latin Bible. Our best authority, however, is Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (d. c. 258), who quotes copiously and accurately from all parts of both Old and New Testaments, and thus gives us both locality and date for his type of text. Whether the first translation was made in Africa it is impossible to say, for want of positive evidence; but the view is commonly held, and is at least probable. What is an even more difficult question is whether in the Old Latin we have to do with one or a plurality of versions. St. Augustine, at about the time when Jerome was translating the Vulgate, took the latter view, and the many and striking variations in the text make it quite possible. Indeed it has been suggested that in the earliest stages translations made by Jews in Africa (on the lines of the Aramaic and Greek Targums) may have been used by Christians in view of some unusual agreements with the Hebrew. But it is equally possible that the variants are due to frequent and localized revision from the Greek in what was essentially a popular and, at first, a decidedly 'unliterary' text. What is quite clear is that this version was not made all at one time, but as was the case with the Greek, haphazardly and according to local and other needs, with such books as Isaiah and the Psalms first and the less-used books later. That different translators were at work can be demonstrated by the way in which the same Greek words are rendered differently, and consistently so, in different parts of the Bible.

It is usual to distinguish two main families or recensions of the Old Latin text, the *African* and the *European*, but the former is not restricted to that continent, since Spain derived its text partly if not wholly from Africa. Indeed it has been said that "the history of the African translation is its Europeanization". Unfortunately the version is available only to a limited extent. The apocryphal books of Esdras, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, and 1 and 2 Maccabees, together with the additions to Daniel and Esther,

were not translated or revised by Jerome, and consequently the Old Latin versions of these books were incorporated in the later Latin Bible and remain there to this day.<sup>1</sup> The Psalter survives in a very slightly altered form, as explained below; but the historical and prophetic books have disappeared almost completely. The Octateuch is in better case. Codex Vindobonensis 17, a palimpsest manuscript now at Naples, contains fragments of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, as well as portions of Samuel and Kings. There has long been a fine manuscript of the fifth century at Lyons, containing portions of Genesis, Exodus and Leviticus, the whole of Numbers, and the first ten chapters of Deuteronomy. To this M. Delisle, Director of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, was able to add in 1895 the rest of Deuteronomy, the whole of Joshua, and Judges as far as xi. 21. Probably Ruth was originally included, so that the whole MS. would have been an Octateuch. Ruth has come down in another MS. at Madrid; and Esther, Judith and Tobit are also preserved in that MS. and in others. For the rest we are dependent on a few fragments and quotations in the Fathers.

(b) *The Vulgate*. It is very different when we come to the great work of St. Jerome, which, in the main, continues to be the Bible of the Roman Church to this day. Its origin is known to us from the letters and prefaces of its author; its evidence is preserved to us in hundreds and even thousands of manuscripts of all ages from the fourth century to the fifteenth. Its historical importance is enormous, especially for the Churches of Western Europe; for, as we shall see in the progress of our story, it was the Bible of these Churches, including our own Church of England, until the time of the Reformation. We shall have to trace its history in the later chapters of this book; for the present we are concerned with the story of its birth.

By the end of the fourth century the imperfections of the Old Latin version had become evident to the leaders of the Roman Church. Not only was the translation taken from the Greek of the Septuagint, instead of the original Hebrew, but the current copies of it were grossly disfigured by corruptions. The inevitable mistakes of copyists, the omissions and interpolations of accident or design, the freedom with which early translators handled the

<sup>1</sup> The Old Latin version of Ecclesiasticus enables us to correct a disarrangement which has taken place in the text of the Septuagint. In the Greek version, chapter xxx. 25-xxxiii. 13a is placed after chapter xxxvi. 16a, which is plainly wrong. The Latin version has preserved the true order, which has been followed in our Authorized Version.

text of their original, the alterations of revisers, and the different states of the African and European forms of the version, all contributed to produce a state of confusion and distortion intolerable to an educated churchman.

### *Jerome*

Hence about the year 382 Pope Damasus appealed to the most capable Biblical scholar then living, Eusebius Hieronymus, whom we know better under the abbreviated form of his name, Jerome, to undertake a revision of the Latin Bible. Jerome was born in 346, a native of Stridon in Pannonia, not far from the modern Trieste. Throughout his life he was devoted to Biblical studies. In 374 he set himself to learn Hebrew, then a very rare accomplishment in the West, taking as his teacher a converted Jew. His first Biblical undertaking, however, was not connected with his Hebrew studies. The existing Latin Bible was a translation from the Greek throughout, in the Old Testament as well as in the New, and all that Pope Damasus now invited Jerome to do was to revise this translation with reference to the Greek. He began with the Gospels, of which we shall have to speak later; but about the same time he also made his first revision of the Psalter.

### *His Three Psalters*

He produced eventually no less than three versions of the Psalms, all of which are still extant. The first was this very slight revision of the Old Latin version, with reference to the Septuagint, and is known as the *Roman* Psalter; it was officially adopted by Pope Damasus, and still remains in use in the cathedral of St. Peter at Rome. The second, made between 387 and 390 in Bethlehem, was a more thorough revision, still with reference to the Septuagint; but Jerome attempted to bring it into closer conformity with the Hebrew by using Origen's Hexaplar text and reproducing his asterisks and obeli; this version was first adopted in Gaul, whence it is known as the *Gallican* Psalter, and it has held its place as the Psalter in general use in the Roman Church and in the Roman Bible from that day to this, in spite of the superior accuracy of the third version which Jerome subsequently published. This is known as the *Hebrew* Psalter, being an entirely fresh translation from the original Hebrew. It is found in a fair number of manuscripts of the Vulgate, often in parallel columns with the Gallican version, but it never attained to general usage or popularity.

*His Old Testament*

About the time when Jerome produced his Gallican Psalter, he also revised some of the other books of the Old Testament, such as Job (which alone now survives in this form), with reference to the Hexaplar text; but it would appear that this undertaking was not carried to completion. It is probable that Jerome, as his knowledge of Hebrew increased, grew dissatisfied with the task of merely revising the Old Latin translation with reference to a text which itself was only a translation. He had completed the revision of the New Testament on these lines; but with the Old Testament he resolved to take in hand an altogether new translation from the Hebrew. He appears to have felt no doubt as to the superiority of the Hebrew text over the Greek, and in all cases of divergence regarded the Hebrew as alone correct. This great work occupied him from about the year 390 to 404; and separate books or groups of books were published as they were completed. The first to appear were the books of Samuel and Kings, next the Prophets, then Ezra, Nehemiah and Genesis, then (after an interval) the books of Solomon, and finally the rest of the Octateuch and Esther.

*Reception of His Version*

In the prefatory letters prefixed to these books, Jerome tells us much of his work and its reception. In spite of much individual support which he received, the general attitude towards it was one of great hostility. The sweeping nature of the changes introduced, the marked difference in the text translated, alienated those who had been brought up to know and to love the old version, and who could not understand the critical reasons for the alteration. Jerome felt this opposition keenly, and raged against what he regarded as its unreasonableness; and his sensitiveness, not to say irritability, finds vigorous expression in his prefaces. We who have seen the introduction of a Revised Bible in our own country, intended to supersede the version to which England has been devotedly attached for centuries, can understand the difficulties which surrounded the work of Jerome. Gradually, as we shall see in a later chapter, the superior accuracy and scholarship of his version gave it the victory, though not in a perfect or complete form. The Gallican Psalter continued to hold its own, and was never replaced by the version from the Hebrew. The apocryphal books he wished to reject entirely, because they found no place in the current Hebrew Bible. He did indeed consent reluctantly to



make a very hurried translation of the books of Judith and Tobit; but the remaining books he left untouched. In spite of this, they continued to find a place in the Latin Bible; and the Vulgate, as finally adopted by the Roman Church, contains these books in the form in which they had stood, before the days of Jerome, in the Old Latin version. In the rest of the Old Testament, Jerome's version ultimately superseded the Old Latin, and in the New Testament his revision of the Old Latin held its ground. To this composite Bible, consisting partly of unrevised translations from the Greek, partly of revised translations from the same, and partly of translations from the Hebrew, was given in later days, when it had been generally accepted in Western Europe, the name of the 'Vulgate', or commonly received translation; and of this, the Bible of our own country until the Reformation, and of the Roman Church until today, we shall have much to say hereafter as we trace its history through the centuries. We shall also reserve for later chapters an account of the chief manuscripts in which it is now preserved. In the present chapter we have to do with it only as it affords evidence which may help us to recover the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament.

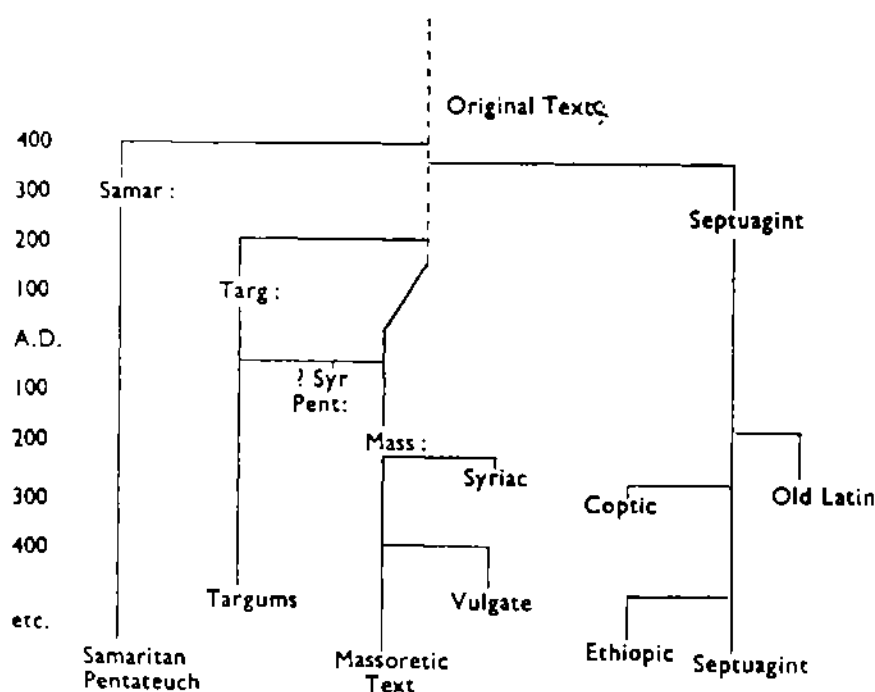
### *Its Character*

In this respect its importance is not to be compared with that of the Septuagint. The Hebrew text accessible to Jerome was practically identical with that which is accessible to ourselves; for although the Massoretes themselves are later in date than Jerome by several centuries, yet, as we have seen, the text which they stereotyped had come down practically unchanged since the beginning of the second century after Christ. Hence the version of Jerome is of little help to us in our attempt to recover the Hebrew text as it existed in the centuries before the Christian era; on the other hand, if the Massoretic text is in itself superior to the Greek version as a whole, then the Vulgate is a more satisfactory national Bible than the Septuagint. The translation itself is of unequal merit; some parts are free to the verge of paraphrase, others are so literal as to be nearly unintelligible; but on the whole the work is one of very great merit, and justifies the commanding position which Jerome holds among the Fathers of the Roman Church. Jerome was indeed for the West what Origen was for the East—the greatest Biblical scholar which the Church produced before the revival of learning at the end of the Middle Ages.

## § 6. CONDITION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT

The Vulgate is the last of the versions of the Old Testament which need be mentioned here; and now we come back to the question with which we ended the preceding chapter. What light, after all, do these versions throw on the text of the Old Testament? Do they help us to get behind the Massoretic text and see what the words of the Scriptures were when they were first written down? And, if so, does this earlier evidence confirm the accuracy of the Massoretic text, or does it throw doubt upon it? With the answer to this question we can close our examination of the Old Testament text.

A diagram may serve to summarize, in broad outline, the information which has been given above.



*Most of the Versions too Late to Help Us*

In the first place it will be clear that some of the versions we have described must be excluded on the ground that they are not translations of the Hebrew at all. Thus the Coptic, Ethiopic, Gothic, Armenian, Arabic, Georgian, Slavonic and Old Latin versions were made from the Greek of the Septuagint; and they can only indirectly help us to recover the original Hebrew. Their

value is that they help us to restore the original text of the Septuagint; and from the Septuagint we may get on to the Hebrew. In the next place, the Peshitta Syriac and the Latin Vulgate, though translated from the Hebrew, were translated at a time when the Hebrew text was practically fixed in the form in which we now have it. The Peshitta Pentateuch may be as early as the first century, but the rest of the Old Testament is later—second, perhaps some of it third century, while the Vulgate comes at the end of the fourth; but we have already seen that we can trace back the Massoretic text to about the beginning of the second century. In some cases, when the Hebrew has been corrupted at a comparatively late date, these versions may show us the mistake; but their main value arises from the fact that, at the time when they were made, the Hebrew vowel-points were not yet written down, but were supplied in reading the Scriptures according to the tradition current among the Jews. Hence the Peshitta and the Vulgate show us in what way the absent vowels were supplied at a date very much earlier than any of our existing manuscripts. The same is the case with the Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus. They were made from the Hebrew, but from a Hebrew text too late to be of much service to us in our present inquiry.

#### *Evidence of the Samaritan Pentateuch*

There remain the Samaritan and the Septuagint versions. Of these the Samaritan is the oldest; and as it is not really a translation into a different language, but a direct descendant of the original Scriptures in the same language and written in the same characters, its evidence might be expected to be of exceptional value. Unfortunately, however, it relates only to the Pentateuch; and we have seen (p. 97) that it is exactly here that help is least required. With the Septuagint it is quite otherwise. It contains all the books of the Old Testament, including those which the Jews finally refused to accept as inspired; and its variations are, in many of the books, both numerous and important. The real question to be debated, then, is this: Does the Septuagint or the Massoretic text represent most accurately the words and form of the Old Testament Scriptures as they were originally written?

#### *Septuagint v. Massoretic*

So far as the weight of authority goes, the preponderance is decidedly in favour of the Hebrew. Origen and Jerome, the two

greatest Biblical scholars of antiquity, deliberately abandoned the original Septuagint and its descendants, the translations made from it, in order to produce versions which should correspond as nearly as possible with the Hebrew. So, too, in the modern world, all the translators of the Bible whose scholarship was equal to it went to the Hebrew for their text of the Old Testament, while those who could not read Hebrew fell back upon the Vulgate, which was itself translated from the Hebrew. Our own Authorized and Revised Bibles, as well as nearly all the translations which preceded them, rest almost entirely upon the Massoretic text, and only very rarely follow the versions in preference to it. And this is very natural; for the Old Testament books were written in Hebrew, and it seems reasonable to suppose that they would be best represented in the Hebrew manuscripts. In the case of no other book in the world should we look to a translation rather than to copies in the original language for the best representation of the contents of a work. Since the last century, however, there have been scholars who have maintained that the Septuagint, the origin of which goes back to a date far earlier than that to which the Massoretic text can be traced, comes nearer to the original Hebrew than do the Hebrew manuscripts of the Massoretic family. It would be absurd to attempt to decide the point authoritatively in such a work as this; but the conditions of the problem can be stated, and the apparent course of the controversy indicated in brief.

#### *The Hebrew Text Sure to be Corrupted*

In the first place it is only natural that the Hebrew text should have suffered considerable corruption. If we take the year 100 after Christ as representing the date to which we can trace back the existence of the Massoretic text, there is still a gap of many centuries before we reach the dates at which most of the books were composed. Nearly a thousand years separate us from the earliest of the prophets, and even if we accept the latest date which modern criticism assigns to the composition of the Pentateuch in its present form, there are still more than five hundred years to be accounted for. And if, on the evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we push back the Massoretic text another hundred or hundred and fifty years, the situation is not vastly different. It would be contrary to reason to suppose that the text had been handed down through all these centuries without suffering damage from the errors of scribes, the alterations of correctors, or the revision of

editors, especially when we remember that in the course of that period the whole style of writing had been changed by the introduction of the square Hebrew characters, that the words were not divided from one another, and that the vowels were not yet indicated by any marks. It is thus natural in itself that the Hebrew text as we have it now should need some correction. It is also natural that the Septuagint version, which we can trace back to an origin more than 300 years earlier than the Massoretic text, should in some cases enable us to supply the needed correction. The text of the Septuagint may itself have suffered much corruption between the time of its composition and the time to which our direct knowledge of it goes back; but it is contrary to reason to suppose that it has always been corrupted in those places where the Hebrew has been corrupted, and that it does not sometimes preserve the right reading where the Hebrew is wrong.

*And Certainly Corrupt in Some Places*

A partial confirmation of this conclusion is provided by the Targums, the earliest portions of which go back a century or more before the formation of the Massoretic text. In these there are indications that the text on which they are based, though very like the Massoretic text, was not identical with it. We can, however, go farther, and show that there is a much larger number of passages in which corruption has almost certainly taken place between the date at which the Septuagint was written and that at which the Massoretic text was formed. It would need an entire treatise to do this thoroughly, but the reader of the Variorum Bible will find a considerable number of places noted in which the reading of the Septuagint makes better sense than that of the Hebrew. In not a few passages the Hebrew gives no natural meaning at all; for instance, Exod. xiv. 20; 1 Sam. xiii. 21; xxvii. 10 (where even the Authorized Version departs from the Massoretic text); much of 1 Kings vi. and vii.; Job iü. 14; xxxv. 15, and many other passages indicated in the Variorum Bible. In other places verses are supplied by the Septuagint which are not in the Hebrew; in these it will be a matter for critics to decide in each case whether the Hebrew has wrongly omitted words, or the Septuagint wrongly inserted them, but it is not likely that the answer will always be the same. A list of some such passages has already been given on p. 133. Again, take the larger variations there mentioned in the book of Jeremiah. The arrangement found in the Septuagint is by many scholars considered preferable to that of the

Hebrew, and its text in many doubtful passages appears to be superior. Once more, in the Pentateuch we find the Septuagint and the Samaritan version often agreeing in opposition to the Hebrew; and since there is no reasonable ground for asserting that either of these translations was influenced by the other, we can only suppose that in such passages they represent the original reading of the Hebrew, and that the Massoretic text is corrupt. Here again confirmation is forthcoming from the Dead Sea fragments, which in the books of Samuel and elsewhere are found agreeing with the Septuagint against the Massoretic Hebrew. To this it may be added that the 'Book of Jubilees', a Jewish work written not long before the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) and containing a modified version of the story of Genesis, frequently supports the Septuagint and Samaritan readings in preference to those of the Hebrew.

*But the Septuagint not Always Trustworthy*

It seems, then, reasonable to conclude that in many cases the Septuagint contains a better text than the Hebrew; and if this is so, it is likely that it is often right in passages where we are not able to decide with certainty between alternative readings. Can we go further and say that it is *generally* so, and that wherever the two differ, the presumption is in favour of the Septuagint? Certainly not, without considerable qualifications. There can be no doubt, first, that the Septuagint as originally written contained many mistakes; and, secondly, that the text of it has been much corrupted in the earlier course of its history. It must be remembered that the Septuagint was translated from a Hebrew text in which the words were not clearly separated from one another and were unprovided with vowels. Hence some of the differences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew do not imply a difference of reading at all, but simply a difference in the division of the letters into words or in the vowel-points supplied. Sometimes the one may be right and sometimes the other; but in any case the difference is one of *interpretation*, not of *text*. Then, again, there can be no doubt that the authors of the Septuagint made many actual mistakes of translation. Hebrew, it must be remembered, was not their habitual language of conversation; it was a matter of study, as Old English is to scholars today, and it was quite possible for them to mistake the meaning of a word, or to confuse words which were written or spoken nearly alike. The possibility of such mistakes must be borne in mind, and only a good Hebrew scholar

can warn us of them.<sup>1</sup> But when we find the Septuagint siding with the Samaritan, or with the Dead Sea Scrolls against the received Hebrew text, then its reading must be considered very carefully indeed.

### *Additions in Septuagint*

It is a more difficult point to decide whether the authors of the Septuagint made deliberate additions to the text. Translators held a different view of their rights and duties from that which would be accepted today. They thought themselves at liberty to add explanatory words and phrases, to paraphrase instead of adhering closely to their original, to supplement what they believed to be omissions (often by incorporating words from other passages where the same or similar events were recorded, as from Kings into Chronicles, and vice versa), even to omit passages which they regarded as unnecessary or unedifying, or insert incidents which they believed to be true and edifying. This would seem to be the case with the additions to the books of Daniel and Esther, which the Jews refused to accept as part of the inspired Scriptures, and which have been banished to the Apocrypha in the English Bible. In smaller details, the authors of the Septuagint seem at times to have softened down strong expressions of the Hebrew, no doubt from a feeling that the more refined literary taste of Alexandria would be offended by them.

### *The Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus*

A welcome and valuable contribution to our comprehension of the relation between the Septuagint and the Massoretic Hebrew was made in 1897 by the publication of a portion of the Hebrew original of the book of Ecclesiasticus, previously believed to be wholly lost. The Hebrew text was known to Jerome, and there is evidence that it was still in existence early in the tenth century; but thenceforward, for a space of more than 950 years, no traces of it could be met with. In 1896, however, Mrs. Lewis, the fortunate discoverer of the Sinaitic Syriac manuscript of the Gospels, brought back from the Cairo Geniza a single leaf, which, on being examined at Cambridge, was found to contain part of the original Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus; and almost simultaneously Dr. Ad. Neubauer at Oxford, in examining a mass of fragments

<sup>1</sup> Some interesting examples of errors caused by the Greek translator having misunderstood the Hebrew, or having supplied the wrong vowel-points, are given in the preface to the *Variorum Apocrypha*.

sent to England by Prof. Sayce, discovered nine more leaves of the same MS., following immediately after the Cambridge leaf. The total amount of text thus recovered includes chapters xxxix. 15-xlix. 11; and the whole was edited by Sir Arthur Cowley and Dr. Neubauer, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The manuscript is on paper, and was written about the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. Soon afterwards Dr. Schechter of Cambridge also visited the Cairo Geniza, and amongst the vast amount of material he brought back other fragments of Ecclesiasticus were found and edited by him. Since then further discoveries have brought the Hebrew text up to about two-thirds of the whole, and now come reports of fragments from the Dead Sea.

The most striking feature about the discovery is the extent of the divergence between the Hebrew and the Greek versions; and the character of the divergence shows that it is generally due to the mistakes or omissions of the Greek translator. It is a most instructive exercise to read the newly recovered original side by side with the notes in the *Variorum Apocrypha*, which indicate the passages previously suspected of error in the Greek, the variations found in the other versions, and the conjectures of editors. Sometimes the suspicions of scholars are confirmed; often it is seen that they could not go far enough, nor divine the extent to which the Greek departed from the original. A small instance may be given here, from Eccus. xl. 18-20:

| GREEK TRANSLATION  | HEBREW ORIGINAL <sup>1</sup>   |
|--|--|
| (FROM THE REVISED VERSION OF 1895)   |  |
| 18 The life of one that laboureth, and is contented, shall he made sweet;<br>And he that findeth a treasure is above both. | A life of wine and strong drink is sweet,<br>But he that findeth a treasure is above them both.        |
| 19 Children and the building of a city establish a man's name;   | A child and a city establish a name,<br>But he that findeth wisdom is above them both.                 |
| And a blameless wife is counted above both.  | Offspring (of cattle) and planting make a name to flourish,<br>But a woman beloved is above them both. |
| 20 Wine and music rejoice the heart;   | Wine and strong drink cause the heart to exult,  |
| And the love of wisdom is above both.  | But the love of lovers is above them both.   |

<sup>1</sup> A very convenient small edition was issued in 1904 by I. Lévi, *The Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus*, with critical notes and German-English vocabulary.



The divergences in verses 18 and 20 are evidently due to a desire to improve the sentiments of the original by removing the laudatory mention of 'strong drink', and the substitution of 'the love of wisdom' for 'the love of lovers'; while the omission in verse 19, whether it be accidental or intentional, distorts the sense of the passage. That the Hebrew text is the more authentic cannot be questioned; and this is but a sample of what is found throughout the book. It is clear, both that the translator took considerable liberty of paraphrase, and that he sometimes did not understand the Hebrew before him. This latter fact might seem strange, since we know (from the translator's preface) that the original was probably written about 200-170 B.C., and the translation (by the author's grandson) in 132 B.C., so that the interval of time between them was short; but it is accounted for both by the fact that the translator was no scholar, and by the transition through which the Hebrew language passed during this period. The moral to be drawn from this discovery is consequently one of caution in assuming that variations (even considerable ones) in the Septuagint from the Massoretic Hebrew necessarily imply a different original text. They *may* do so, no doubt; but we must be prepared to make considerable allowances for liberty of paraphrase and for actual mistakes, especially in the case of the books which are likely to have been the latest to be translated. When the earliest parts of the Septuagint were translated, a competent knowledge of classical Hebrew must have been much commoner, and a higher standard of accuracy, though not necessarily of literalness, may be expected.

### *Minor Corruptions*

As to the minor corruptions of the Septuagint text, the history of it in the preceding pages explains these sufficiently. It is no easy task, in many places, to be sure what the true reading of the Septuagint is. Some manuscripts represent the text of Origen, in which everything has been brought into conformity with the Hebrew as it was in his day; many are more or less influenced by his text, or by the versions of Aquila and Theodotion. Some represent the edition of Lucian, others that of Hesychius. Even those which belong to none of these classes do not agree among themselves. The great manuscripts known as A and B frequently differ very markedly from one another, and  $\aleph$  sometimes stands quite apart from both. It is clear that in many cases it is impossible to correct the Hebrew from the Greek until we have first made sure what the Greek reading really is.

*Deliberate Falsification of Hebrew not Proven*

One further possibility remains to be considered, that of deliberate falsification of either Greek or Hebrew for party purposes. Such accusations were made, both by Christians and by Jews, in the early centuries of the Church's history, when the Jews held to the Hebrew text as it was fixed about A.D. 100, and the Christians to the Septuagint. But the proof for so serious a charge is wholly lacking. It is true that the Hebrew Bible as we know it assumed its present form at a time when the antagonism between Jew and Christian was strongly marked, and probably under the direction of the Rabbi Akiba, the great leader of the extreme party of the Jews at the end of the first century. At such a time and under such a leader it might seem not impossible that an attempt would be made to remove from the Old Testament those passages and expressions to which the Christians referred most triumphantly as prophecies of Christ. The best answer to such a charge is that these passages have not been removed, and that the differences between the Massoretic text and the Septuagint are by no means of this character. The books of Judith and Ecclesiasticus, which were ejected from the Hebrew text and retained in the Greek, do not testify of Christ more than the undisputed books which remain in both. The Christians had less reason to feel special interest in the books of the Maccabees than the patriotic Jews. Indeed it is untrue to say that the books of the Apocrypha were at this time ejected from the Hebrew Bible; the fact being that they had never formed part of it, and were never quoted or used on the same level as the books recognized as inspired. It is true that one verse has dropped out of a long list of towns (after Joshua xv. 59) in which was contained (as the Septuagint shows; see *Variorum* footnote) the name of "Ephratah, which is Bethlehem", by the help of which the reference to Ephratah in Ps. cxxxii. 6 might be interpreted as a prophecy of our Lord's birth at Bethlehem; but seeing that the same identification is repeated in four other places, including the much more strongly Messianic passage in Mic. v. 2, the omission in Joshua alone would be perfectly useless for party purposes, and may much more fairly be explained as an accident. It is needless to add that the greater prophecies of the Messiah, such as the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, stand quite untouched in the Hebrew, and that the vast majority of the differences between the Hebrew and the Greek throughout the Old Testament could have no possible partisan motive whatever.

*Summing-up*

The authors of our Revised Version of the Old Testament, while recognizing the probable existence of earlier editions of the Hebrew differing from the Massoretic text, yet declare that "the state of knowledge on the subject is not at present such as to justify any attempt at an entire reconstruction of the text on the authority of the versions", and have consequently "thought it most prudent to adopt the Massoretic text as the basis of their work, and to depart from it, as the Authorized Translators had done, only in exceptional cases". There can be no doubt that they did rightly. The versions have as yet been too insufficiently studied to justify a general use or a rash reliance upon them. When the text of the Septuagint, in particular, has been placed on a satisfactory footing (to which it is to be hoped the large Cambridge edition will greatly contribute) it will be time enough to consider how far its readings may be taken in preference to those of the Hebrew. It is probable that eventually a much fuller use will be made of the Septuagint than has hitherto been the case, and those have done good work who have called attention, even in exaggerated tones, to the claims of the ancient Greek version; but no general substitution of the Greek for the Hebrew as the prime authority for the text of the Old Testament will be possible unless the assent of students be won to the change. If the Massoretic text is ever to be driven from the assured position of supremacy, which it has held since the days of Origen and of Jerome, it will only be when the great bulk of sober criticism and the general intelligence of Biblical students have been convinced that the change is necessary. It is very doubtful whether such a conviction will ever be reached; but it is probable that increasing use will be made of the Septuagint evidence, particularly in view of the Dead Sea fragments, and students will do well to keep an eye on it in their work on the Old Testament.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

When we pass from the Old Testament to the New, we pass from obscurity into a region of comparative light. Light indeed is plentiful on most of its history; our danger is rather lest we should be confused by a multiplicity of illumination from different quarters. We know, within narrow limits, the dates at which the various books of the New Testament were written; we have a multitude of manuscripts, some of them reaching back to the century following the date of the composition of the books; we have evidence from versions and the early Christian writers which carry us almost into the apostolic age itself. We shall find many more disputes as to *minor* points concerning the text of the New Testament than we do in the Old, just because the evidence is so plentiful and comes from so many different quarters; but we shall find fewer doubts affecting its general integrity.

#### *The Original MSS.*

The books of the New Testament, apart from Jude and 2 Peter, and possibly James, were written between the years 50 and 100 after Christ. If anyone demurs to this lower limit as being stated too dogmatically, we would only say that it is not laid down in ignorance that it has been contested, but in the belief that it has been contested without success.<sup>1</sup> But this is not the place for a discussion on the date of the Gospels or Epistles, and if anyone prefers a later date, he only shortens the period that elapsed between the composition of the books in question and the date at which the earliest manuscripts now extant were written. The originals of the several books have long ago disappeared. They must have perished in the very infancy of the Church; for no allusion is ever made to them by any Christian writer.<sup>2</sup> We have,

<sup>1</sup> Since the publication of Harnack's *Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur* in 1897 it has been generally admitted that, with very few exceptions, the traditional dates of the New Testament books may be accepted as approximately correct. The doctrines of the school of Baur, which regarded the earliest Christian books as a tissue of falsifications of the second century, have been exploded. "That time," says Harnack, "is over. It was an episode, during which science learnt much, and after which it must forget much." Recent discoveries have only confirmed this conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> A very rhetorical passage in Tertullian may be ignored.

however, in recent years, learnt much as to the manner of production of books during this period, and can form a good idea of what they must have looked like. Each book, we must remember, was written separately, and there can have been no thought at first of combining them into a single collection corresponding in importance and sacredness to the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa. St. Luke merely wrote down, as many had taken in hand to do before, a memoir of our Lord's life; St. Paul wrote letters to the congregation at Rome or at Corinth, just as we write to our friends in Canada or India. The material used was, no doubt, papyrus (see p. 38); for this was the common material for writing, whether for literary or for private texts, though parchment was used at times for special purposes. Thus, when St. Paul directs Timothy to bring with him "the books, but especially the parchments" (2 Tim. iv. 13), the latter may possibly have been copies of parts of the Old Testament, but it is more probable that they were notebooks (see above p. 41). His own letters would certainly have been written on papyrus; and the discoveries of the last fifty years have given us back quantities of books and letters written on this material by inhabitants of the neighbouring country of Egypt at this very time. The elder of the church in Western Asia who arose in his congregation to read the letter which we know as the Epistle to the Ephesians must have held in his hand a roll of whitish or light yellow material about 4 feet in length and some 10 inches in height. The Acts of the Apostles or the Gospel of St. Luke would have formed a portly roll of some 30 feet. Even had the idea been entertained of making a collection of all the books which now form our New Testament, it would have been quite impossible to have combined them in a single volume, so long as the papyrus roll was the form of book in use.

*Complete New Testaments Impossible at First*

But in fact the formation of a single 'New Testament' was impossible, so long as no decision had been reached by the Church to distinguish between the inspired and the uninspired books. The four Gospels had indeed been marked off as a single authoritative group early in the second century; and the Epistles of St. Paul formed a group by themselves, easily recognizable and generally accepted. But in the second and third and even in the fourth century the claims of such books as 2 and 3 John, 2 Peter, Jude and the Apocalypse were not admitted by all; the authorship of Hebrews, and consequently its place among the Epistles, was a

matter of doubt, as to which East and West took different views; while other early Christian writings, such as the Epistle of Clement, the epistle which passed by the name of Barnabas, and the 'Shepherd' of Hermas, ranked almost, if not quite, on the same footing as the canonical books. All this time it is highly improbable that the sacred books were written otherwise than singly or in small groups. Only when the minds of men were being led to mark off with some unanimity the books held to be authoritative, are collected editions, as we should now call them, likely to have been made. Only gradually did men arrive at the conception of a Canon, or authoritative collection, of the New Testament which should rank beside the Canon of the Old.

We now have concrete evidence of the stages of this process. The adoption of the codex form of book by the Christian community early in the second century, if not before the end of the first (see above p. 42), made the inclusion of groups of books in a single volume possible; and we have actual examples, which will be described in the next chapter, of papyrus codices containing the four Gospels and the Acts, or the collected Epistles of St. Paul, which can be assigned to the first half of the third century. But for complete New Testaments we must, so far as our present evidence goes, wait for the official recognition of Christianity and the great vellum codices of the time of Constantine in the fourth century.

We need, then, feel no surprise at the great quantity of various readings which we find to have come into existence by the time our earliest extant manuscripts were written. The earliest Christians, a poor, scattered, often illiterate body, looking for the return of their Lord at no distant date, were not likely either to care sedulously for minute accuracy of transcription or to preserve their books religiously for the benefit of posterity. Salvation was not to be secured by exactness in copying the precise order of words; it was the substance of the teaching that mattered, and the scribe might even incorporate into the narrative some incident which he believed to be equally authentic, and think no harm in so doing. So divergent readings would spring up, and different texts would become current in different regions, each manuscript being a centre from which other copies would be taken in its own neighbourhood. Persecution, too, had a potent influence on the fortunes of the Bible text. On the one hand, an edict such as that of Diocletian, in 303, ordering all the sacred books of the Christians to be burnt, would lead men to distinguish between the sacred

and non-sacred books, and so assist the formation of an authoritative Canon. On the other hand, numberless copies must have been destroyed by the Roman officials during these times of persecution, the comparison of copies with a view to removing their divergences must have been difficult, and the formation of large and carefully written manuscripts must have been discouraged.

#### *Careful Copying of Texts Begins in Fourth Century*

The change comes with the acceptance of Christianity by the Emperor Constantine. After the Edict of Milan (or the instructions to which this name has generally been given), in A.D. 313, Christianity ceased to be persecuted, and before long became the religion of the Empire. Its books needed no longer to be concealed; on the contrary, a great demand for additional copies must have been created to supply the new churches and the new converts. The emperor himself instructed Eusebius of Cæsarea, the great historian of the early Church, to provide fifty copies of the Scriptures for the churches of Constantinople; and the other great towns of the Empire must have required many more for their own wants. Here then, and possibly not before, we may find the origin of the first collected New Testaments; and here we are already in touch with actual manuscripts which have come down to us, from which point the chain of tradition is complete as far as our own days.

#### *Transmission from First to Fifteenth Century*

The forms of ancient books, in the period of which we are treating, have been described in Chapter I. First there is the papyrus period, extending from the date of the composition of the books of the New Testament to about the first quarter of the fourth century. When the first edition of this book appeared it was supposed that all copies belonging to this period had disappeared, on account of the perishable nature of the material. Now we have a small fragment which goes back to the first half of the second century, and some substantial manuscripts and a considerable number of fragments which can be assigned to the third. The earliest complete, or approximately complete, New Testaments belong, however, to the opening of the vellum period in the fourth century. Two splendid volumes are assigned by all competent critics to this period. One, the Codex Vaticanus, has long been in the Vatican Library at Rome. The other, the Codex Sinaiticus, migrated in 1933 from Leningrad to the British

Museum. To the next century belongs that other glory of the British Museum, the Codex Alexandrinus; also the mutilated Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus in the National Library at Paris, the highly remarkable Codex Bezae at Cambridge, and the Freer Gospels at Washington. In addition to these there are perhaps twelve very fragmentary manuscripts of the same century which contain only some small portions of the New Testament. From the sixth century twenty-seven documents have come down to us, but only five of these contain so much as a single book complete. From the seventh we have eight small fragments; from the eighth six manuscripts of some importance and eight fragments.<sup>1</sup> So far the stream of tradition has run in a narrow bed. Time has, no doubt, caused the destruction of many copies; but it is also probable that during these centuries not so many copies were made as was the case subsequently. The style of writing then in use for works of literature was slow and laborious. Each letter was a capital, and had to be written separately; and the copying of a manuscript must have been a long and toilsome task. In the ninth century, however, as already described in Chapter I, a change was made of great importance in the history of the Bible, and indeed of all ancient Greek literature. In place of the large capitals hitherto employed, a smaller style of letter came into use, modified in shape so as to admit of being written continuously, without lifting the pen after every letter. Writing became easier and quicker; and to this fact we may attribute the marked increase in the number of manuscripts of the Bible which have come down to us from the ninth and tenth centuries. From this point numeration becomes useless. Instead of counting our copies by units we number them by tens and scores and hundreds, until by the time that printing was invented the total mounts up to a mass of several thousands. And these, it must be remembered, are but the remnant which has escaped the ravages of time and survived to the present day. When we remember that the great authors of Greek and Latin literature are preserved to us in a mere handful of copies, in some cases indeed only in one single manuscript, we may feel confident that in this great mass of Bible manuscripts we have much security that the true text of the Bible has not been lost on the way.

<sup>1</sup> It must be understood that the dates here given are not absolutely certain. Early manuscripts on vellum are never dated, and their age can only be judged from their handwriting. But the dates as here stated are those which have been assigned by competent judges, and may be taken as approximately correct.



*The Earliest Printed Texts*

With the invention of printing in the fifteenth century a new era opens in the history of the Greek text. The earliest printed document (so far as Europe is concerned) was issued about the year 1450; and the first complete book produced by the printing press was, rightly enough, the Bible, in 1456. This, however, was a Latin Bible; for Latin was, in the fifteenth century, the language of literature in Western Europe. Greek itself was little known at this date. It was only gradually that the study of it spread from Italy (especially after the arrival there of fugitives from the East, when the Turkish capture of Constantinople overthrew the Greek Empire) over the adjoining countries to the other nations of the West. It was not until the sixteenth century had begun that there was any demand for a printed Greek Bible; and the honour of leading the way belongs to Spain. In 1502 Cardinal Ximenes formed a scheme for a printed Bible containing the Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts in parallel columns. Many years were spent in collecting and comparing manuscripts, with the assistance of several scholars. It was not until 1514 that the New Testament was printed, and the Old Testament was only completed in 1517 (see Plate XVIII). Even then various delays occurred, including the death of Ximenes himself, and the actual publication of this edition of the Greek Bible (known as the Complutensian, from the Latin name of Alcala, where it was printed) only took place in 1522; and by that time it had lost the honour of being the first Greek Bible to be given to the world.

*Erasmus' Greek Testament, 1516*

That distinction belongs to the New Testament of the great Dutch scholar Erasmus. He had been long making collections for an edition of the Bible in Latin, when in 1515 a proposal was made to him by a Swiss printer, named Froben, to prepare an edition in Greek, probably with the intention of anticipating that which Ximenes had in hand. Erasmus consented; the work was rapidly executed and as rapidly passed through the press; and in 1516 the first printed copy of the New Testament in the original Greek with Erasmus' own translation was given to the world (Plate XIX.) The first edition was full of errors of the press, due to the failure of a subordinate who had been entrusted with the duty of revising the sheets, and was based on six or seven manuscripts available, of which only one was even moderately ancient or valuable, and none was complete, so that the last six verses of the Apocalypse











Chester Beatty Gospels Papyrus—early third century. John x. 7-25  
(Actual size  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $5\frac{1}{2}$  in.)



## ΡΣΗ

ΕΧΙΜΕΝ ΕΡΓΑΘΩΜΕΘΑ ΤΟ ΛΑΘΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΥΝΑΣΜΑ  
 ΟΤΑΔΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ΔΕΤΕ  
 Η ΛΙ ΚΟΙΣ ΥΜΕΙΝ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣ ΙΝ ΕΓΡΑΨΑΤΗΝ ΕΝ  
 ΧΗΡΙ ΟΣΟΙ ΘΕΛΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΥΠΡΟΣΩΠΗΝ ΕΝ ΣΑΡΚΙ ΕΙ  
 ΤΟΙ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΟΥΣΙΝ ΥΜΑΣ ΠΕΡΙΤΕΜΝΕΘΕΝ  
 ΙΝΑ ΤΩ ΕΠΩ ΤΟΥ ΧΥ ΙΗΥ ΜΗ ΔΙΩΚΟΝΤΑΙ ΟΥΤΕ  
 ΓΑΡ ΟΙ ΠΕΡΙΤΕΜΗ ΜΕΤΙΟΙ ΑΥΤΟΙΝ ΟΜΩΝ ΦΥΛΑΣ  
 ΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΘΕΛΟΥΣΙΝ ΥΜΑΣ ΠΕΡΙΤΕΜΝΕΘΑΙ  
 ΙΝΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΗ ΥΛΕΤΕΡΑ ΣΑΡΚΙ ΚΑΥΧΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ  
 ΕΜΟΙ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ΜΕ ΚΑΥΧΑΣΘΑΙ ΕΙΣ Η ΕΝ  
 ΤΩ ΕΠΩ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ ΗΛΩΝ ΗΥ ΧΥ ΔΙΟΥΜΩΙ ΚΟΣ  
 ΜΟΣ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΚΑΓΩ ΚΟΣΜΩ ΟΥΤΕ ΓΑΡ ΠΕΡΙΤΕΜΗ  
 ΤΙ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΑΚΡΟΥΣΤΙΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΚΥΝΗΚΗ  
 ΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΟΙ ΤΗ ΚΑΛΩΝΙ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΟΤΟΙΧΗΣΩ  
 ΟΙΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΕΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΟΝ  
 ΙΣΤΑΝΧΙΟΥ ΕΥ ΦΟΥΛΑΤΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΥ ΟΙΩΝ ΜΑΧΕ  
 ΤΑΡ ΕΧΕΤΩ ΕΙΣ ΑΡΤΑΣΤΙΣ ΜΑΧΙ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΕΙ  
 ΤΩ ΣΩΜΑΤΙ ΜΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΩ ΤΗ ΧΑΡΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥ ΗΚ  
 ΙΗΥ ΧΥ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟΥΤΩ ΓΑΡ ΜΗ ΑΔΕΦΟΙ ΜΩ

ΠΙΧ ΤΕΚ

ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΤΟ

ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΑΠΟΤΕΜΝΕΘΕΝ

Chester Beatty Papyrus of Pauline Epistles. Galatians vi. 10-  
 Philippians i. 1.  
 (Actual size  $8\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$  6 in.)



Fragment of St. John's Gospel—second century

*John Rylands Library, Manchester*

(Actual size)









Codex Alexandrinus—fifth century

British Museum

(Actual size 12½ in. × 10½ in.)

(ii) Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus—fifth century

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

(Actual size of part reproduced 7½ in. × 9 in.)



ij) Codex Vaticanus - fourth century

Vatican Library

(Actual size 10½ in. × 10 in.)







ΕΑΥΤΟΥΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΕΦΑΝΕΡΩΣΑΝ  
 ΕΤΕΡΩΝ ΟΡΦΗΝΙΟΝ ΕΥΘΕΛΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ  
 ΚΑΙ ΣΙΝΟΙΑ ΠΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΙΝΗΓΕΛΟΝΤΙ ΟΙΣ  
 ΤΟΙΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΝ ΥΣΤΕΡΩ  
 ΑΝΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣΙΒΕΦΑΝΕΡΩΘΗΚΑΝ  
 ΗΙΔΙΣΕΝΤΙΝΑΝ ΠΕΤΙΑΝ ΛΥΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΥ  
 ΡΟΚΑΡΛΙΑΝ ΟΤΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΛΣΑΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΙΣ  
 ΕΠΙΓΕΡΜΕΝΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΤΑΝ  
 ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΙΑ ΠΕΛΘΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΛΕΙΠΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΤΙ  
 ΛΗΘΟΥΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΠΙΣΤΙΑΣ  
 ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΤΑΝΑΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΜΗΝΩΣΤΑΥΝ  
 ΤΩΝ ΠΙΝΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΘΑΡΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ  
 ΤΟΥ ΘΥΚΑΤΑΛΛΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΑΙΔ  
 ΤΟΥ ΓΑΛΙΟΚΑΛΥΨΟΝΤΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΛΙΚΑΙΡΟΥ  
 ΜΗΝΗΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙ ΕΛΕΓΟΝ ΤΩ ΧΙΩ ΚΑΙ  
 ΧΕΕΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΕΛΕΓΕΝ ΟΤΙ ΠΙΠΤΟΥΝΤΕΣ  
 ΤΑΙΣ ΟΡΟΤΩΝΕΤΩΝ ΓΗΓΕΡΘΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ  
 ΣΑΤΑΝΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΕΓΓΙΖΕΙ ΑΛΛΑ ΛΗΝΑ ΚΑΛΥ  
 ΠΕΡΩΝΕΓΩ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΗΙΔΙΣΤΕ  
 ΕΙΣ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΙΝΑ ΥΠΟΣΤΕΦΘΗΜΕΙΣ ΤΗ  
 ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΚΕΤΑΜΑΡΤΗΣΩΣΙΝ  
 ΙΝΑ ΤΙΝΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΥΡΑΝΩ ΙΝΙΝΙΚΗΝ ΚΑΙ  
 ΦΑΡΤΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΔΟΞΑΝ  
 ΙΣΤΗΡΟΝ ΟΜΗΝΩΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΟΡΕΥΘΕΙΣ  
 ΤΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΛΙΚΟΣ ΜΗΛΑΝΤΑ ΚΗΡΥΞΑΤΕ  
 ΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΠΑΣΤΗΚΤΙΣ ΕΙ ΟΠΙΣΤΕΥ  
 ΣΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΠΤΙΣΘΕΙΣ ΩΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ Ο ΑΘΑ  
 ΝΗΣΤΗΣ ΑΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΡΙΘΕΙΣ ΩΤΩΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ  
 ΕΝ ΜΙΛΛΕΤΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΤΑΣΙΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΑΡΑ  
 ΚΟΛΟΥΘΗΤΕ ΤΗ ΓΩΝΟΜΑΤΙΜΟΥ

Washington Codex of Gospels—late fourth or fifth century

Freer collection, Washington

(Actual size 8½ in. × 5½ in.)



ἐν ᾧ καὶ οὗτοι ἐν ἡμετέροις κατὰ τοὺς  
 τοὺς ἡμετέροις κατὰ τοὺς ἐν ἡμετέροις  
 κατὰ τοὺς ἐν ἡμετέροις κατὰ τοὺς  
 οὐτως· ὡς ἀπὸ πρῶτον ἰουδαί-  
 ων καὶ ἑλλήνων πολλὴ πλῆθος·  
 οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἀρτῆς ἰουδαί-  
 ων καὶ ἑλλήνων κατὰ τὴν καὶ δὲ  
 ἰκαροὺς μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες καὶ ἑλλή-  
 παρρησιαζόμενοι· ὅτι τὴν καὶ  
 τὴν μαρτυροῦντες τὴν ἡμετέραν  
 ριτοσάου τοῦ· ὅτι δὲ ἡτοσσημα  
 ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς καὶ δὲ τῆς καὶ δὲ  
 καὶ τῆς καὶ δὲ τῆς καὶ δὲ τῆς  
 πολλῶς· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑλλήνων  
 τοῖς ἰουδαίοις· οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς  
 ἀποστόλοις· ὡς δὲ ἡμετέροις  
 τὴν καὶ δὲ τῆς καὶ δὲ τῆς  
 τοῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ τῆς καὶ δὲ  
 λιθοβολῆσαι αὐτοὺς· σὺν δὲ  
 καὶ τῆς καὶ δὲ τῆς καὶ δὲ  
 λυκαορίαν ἀπὸ τῆς καὶ δὲ  
 ὅτι τὴν καὶ δὲ τῆς καὶ δὲ

αὐτὴ καὶ δὲ τῆς  
 καὶ δὲ τῆς

Cursive Greek MS. - 1054

British Museum

(Actual size 7 in. x 5 in.)





ΠΕΣΙΟΥΡΗ ΕΧΚΥΜ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ  
 ΧΕΤΟΠΤΟ ΜΟΚΑΧΙΣΕΡΟΙΧΕ  
 ΡΕΠΤΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΧΩΜΠΛΙΕΚΕ  
 ΝΙΜΕΤΚΗΝΗΤΩΧΕΕΚΕΚΕΟΥΧ  
 ΑΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΔΕΟΥΩΝ ΝΡΩΥΑ  
 ΧΑΡΧΙΕΟΥΩΝ ΝΡΩΥ ΕΚΟΛΩΝ ΜΕ  
 ΤΡΑΦΗΛΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΖΕΝ ΧΥΜΠΧ  
 ΕΙΣΙΟΠΕΧΣΕΥ ΜΟΥΩ ΕΔΕΛΚΕ  
 ΖΙΝΑΥ ΕΙΕΡΑΙΕΧΝΟΥ ΜΟΥΠΤΕΔΕ  
 ΠΕΣΙΟΥΡΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΧΕΕΤΙ ΜΟΥ  
 ΟΥΠΤΕΤΚΩΛΥΜΜΟΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΑΧΙ  
 ΠΤΙΟ ΜΑΧΩΛΟΥ ΕΛΛΑΝΕΝ ΕΙ  
 ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΙΖΑΡΜΑΞΕΡΑΤΗ  
 ΛΥΚΩΚ ΜΠΕΣΝΑΥ ΕΙΡΑΙΕΤΙ ΜΟΥ  
 ΛΥΩΑΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΚΑΙΤΕΙΖΕ Μ  
 ΜΟΥΝ ΤΕΡΟΥ ΕΙΕΡΑΙΖΜΗΤ ΜΟΥ  
 ΟΥΠΤΑΝ ΤΕΤΙΧΟΒΙΟΚΥΤΩΡΗ  
 Μ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΜΠΤΩΚΟΥΤΩΝΑΥ  
 ΕΡΟΥΝ ΕΙΠΕΣΙΟΥΡΗ ΝΕΥ ΜΟΥΩ  
 ΤΑΡΖΩ ΤΕΡΩ ΝΕΡΑΨΕ ΦΙΛΙΠ  
 ΠΟΥ ΔΕΛΥΖΕΙ ΡΟΥΖΝΑΖΩΤΟΣ  
 ΕΥ ΜΟΥΩ ΕΒΩΤΑΨΕ Ο ΕΙΩΝ Μ  
 ΠΟΥΙΟΤΗ ΡΟΥΩΝ ΤΩ ΕΙΕΡΑΙ  
 ΕΚΗΟΑΡΙΑ ΟΛΥΛΟΣ ΔΕΥ ΜΕΖΝ  
 ΝΑΤΗΛΗΝΩΤΕ ΕΖΟΥΝΕ ΜΜΑ  
 ΘΗΤΗΣ ΜΠΧΟΒΙΟΚΥΤΩΡΗ  
 ΘΕΑΡΧΙΕΙ ΕΥΟΛΥΑΙΤΙ ΕΚΟΛΩΤΩ  
 ΟΠΩΝ ΕΝΕΠΙΟΤΟΛΗ ΕΑΛΛΑ  
 ΚΟΣ ΕΝΟΥΝΑΚΟΥΤΗΩΝ ΕΥΝΑ  
 ΠΟΥΓΗ ΕΚΑΟΝΕ ΤΥΝΑΖΕΒΡΟΥ  
 ΝΡΚΟΜ Ε ΛΥΩΚΕΙΟ ΜΕΒΕΧΕΙΤΟΥ  
 ΕΧΕΧΙΤΟΥ ΟΥΜΗΡΕΖΡΚΙΕΘΙΕ  
 ΡΟΥΟΛΑΝ ΜΑΩΩΠΤΕΔΕ ΕΥ  
 ΜΟΥΩ ΕΝΤΕΡΕΚΩΝΕΙΩΝΕ



Ethiopic MS.—seventeenth century  
*British Museum*  
 (Actual size  $14\frac{3}{4}$  in.  $\times$  14 in.)

Sahidic Codex of Acts—fourth century  
*British Museum*  
 (Actual size  $12\frac{1}{2}$  in.  $\times$   $6\frac{1}{2}$  in.)





Codex Vercellensis—fourth century. Vercelli, North Italy  
 (Actual size as reproduced, without margins, 7½ in. × 4½ in.)

were actually retranslated by Erasmus himself into Greek from the Vulgate. A second edition quickly followed, however, in 1519; in the third (1522), because of objections, he inserted 1 John v. 7 into his Greek text on the basis of a reading in a sixteenth-century bilingual MS.; and for the fourth edition in 1527 he made use of the Complutensian and added a third column containing the Vulgate. The work of Ximenes was much more elaborate, being contained (Old and New Testaments together) in six large volumes, and only 600 copies were printed, so that it had a far smaller circulation than that of Erasmus.

### *The Received Text*

The great printer-editor, Robert Estienne, or Stephanus, of Paris (sometimes Anglicized as Stephens, without ground), issued several editions of the Greek New Testament, based mainly on the later editions of Erasmus, the first appearing in 1546. The third edition, published in folio in 1550, was the first Greek Testament to contain a critical apparatus, for which fifteen manuscripts, most of them comparatively late, were used. Shortly afterwards Estienne was forced to retire to Geneva on account of his Protestantism, and from there issued in 1557 the first edition to contain the modern verse divisions (the chapter divisions were the work of Archbishop Stephen Langton). Estienne's third edition is substantially the 'received text' which has appeared in all our ordinary copies of the Greek Testament in England until recently. On the Continent, the 'received text' has been that of the Elzevir edition of 1624 (though it is the second edition of 1633 which coined the phrase '*textus receptus*'). This differs very slightly from that of Stephanus, being in fact a revision of the latter with the assistance of the texts published in 1565-1605 by the great French Protestant scholar Beza.

### *Its Deficiencies*

Such is the history of our received text of the Greek New Testament; and it will be obvious from it how little likelihood there was that it would be a really accurate representation of the original language. For 1400 years the New Testament had been handed down in manuscript, copy being taken from copy in a long succession through the centuries, each copy multiplying and spreading errors (slight indeed, but not unimportant in the mass) after the manner described in our second chapter. Yet when the great invention of printing took place, and the words of the

Bible could at last be stereotyped, as it were, beyond the reach of human error, the first printed text was made from a mere handful of manuscripts, and those some of the latest and least trustworthy that existed. There was no thought of searching out the oldest manuscripts and trusting chiefly to them. The best manuscripts were still unknown to scholars or inaccessible, and the editors had to content themselves with using such later copies as were within their reach, generally those in their native town alone. Even these were not always copied with such accuracy as we should now consider necessary. The result is that the text accepted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to which we have clung from a natural reluctance to change the words which we have learnt as those of the Word of God, is in truth full of inaccuracies, many of which can be corrected with absolute certainty from the vastly wider information which is at our disposal today. The difference between the Authorized Version and the Revised Version shows in great measure the difference between the text accepted at the time of the first printed editions and that which commends itself to the best modern scholars. We do not find the fundamentals of our faith altered, but we find many variations in words and sentences, and are brought so much nearer to the true Word of God as it was written down in the first century by Evangelist and Apostle.

### *Means for Amending it*

What, then, are the means which we have for correcting the 'received text', and for recovering the original words of the New Testament? This question will be answered more fully in the next two chapters; but it will be useful to take a brief survey of the ground before us first, and to arrange in their proper groups the materials with which we have to deal. As was explained in Chapter III, the evidence by which the Bible text is examined and restored is threefold. It consists of (1) MANUSCRIPTS, (2) VERSIONS, (3) Quotations in the FATHERS.

#### *1. Manuscripts*

In the first edition of this work it was stated that "the early papyrus manuscripts of the New Testament have all perished (unless indeed some are still lying buried in the soil of Egypt, which is far from improbable)". This possibility has happily been realized, and, as has already been indicated, we now have a slender thread of tradition extending back to a point barely a

generation later than the date of the Apocalypse or the Fourth Gospel. A list compiled by the Rev. P. L. Hedley in 1933 enumerated 157 New Testament fragments on papyrus (including vellum fragments found with papyri, and ostraka), and to these may now be added the Chester Beatty manuscripts and other recent discoveries, which bring the total up to 170 or more. The most recent (1957) list of New Testament papyri with official numeration as listed in critical editions, prepared by Aland, has so far reached a total of sixty-eight items. Not by any means all of these, however, are earlier than the earliest vellum manuscripts, and many of them are small and of slight importance. A few of them, on the other hand, are of very great value, both as early links in the chain of tradition, and for the light which they throw on the state of the text in the earliest centuries.

The vellum manuscripts, which comprise by far the greater number of our authorities, are divided into two great classes, according to the style in which they are written—namely, *UNCIALS* and *CURSIVES*. Uncials are those written throughout in capital letters, each formed separately (see Plates XVI, XVII, XXIII–XXVI). Cursives are those written in smaller letters and in a more or less running hand (see Plate XXVIII). As explained above (p. 44), uncial manuscripts are the earliest, running from the fourth century to the tenth, while cursives range from the ninth to the fifteenth, and even later, wherever manuscripts were still written after the invention of printing.<sup>1</sup>

*Uncial MSS.* Uncial manuscripts, being the oldest, are also the rarest and the most important. Including even the smallest fragments, little more than 200 uncial manuscripts of the Greek New Testament are known to exist,<sup>2</sup> and of these only two contain all the books of it, though two more are nearly perfect. The books of the New Testament, throughout the manuscript

<sup>1</sup> This sharp distinction in time between uncial and cursive writing does not apply to papyri. Here we find cursive writing side by side with uncial from the earliest times at which Greek writing is known to us (the third century B.C.). The reason for the difference in the case of vellum MSS. is simply that vellum was only employed for books intended for general use, and for such books uncial writing was regularly used until the ninth century, because it was the most handsome style. In the ninth century an ornamental style of running-hand was invented, and this superseded uncials as the style usual in books. A cursive hand must always have existed for use in private documents, where publication was not intended; and on papyrus we have many examples of it.

<sup>2</sup> The official catalogue, completed by Gregory in 1908, and carried on by von Dobschütz, has been continued by K. Aland and in the last list (1957) reaches 241.

period, were generally formed into four groups—viz., Gospels, Acts and Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, Apocalypse—and most manuscripts contain only one, or at most two, of these groups. Uncial manuscripts are distinguished for purposes of reference by capital letters of the Latin, Greek or Hebrew alphabets, such as A, B, Δ, Ⲁ, etc., as the reader may see by looking at the notes on any page of the New Testament with a critical apparatus. Reserving a full description of these manuscripts for the next chapter, it will be sufficient for the present to say that the most important of them are those known as B (Codex Vaticanus) and Ⲁ (Codex Sinaiticus), which are assigned to the fourth century; A (Codex Alexandrinus), C (Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus), D (of the Gospels and Acts, Codex Bezae), and W (of the Gospels, Codex Washingtonianus), of the fifth century; D<sub>2</sub> (Pauline Epistles), and E<sub>2</sub> (Acts), of the sixth century. These are the main authorities upon which the text of the New Testament is based, though they need to be supplemented and reinforced by the testimony of the later copies, both uncial and cursive.

*Cursive MSS.* Cursive manuscripts are enormously more common than uncials. The earliest of them date from the ninth century, and from the tenth century to the fifteenth the cursives were the Bible of Eastern Europe. Multitudes have no doubt perished; but from the fact of their having been written nearer to the times of the revival of learning many have been preserved. Every great library possesses several of them, and many are no doubt still lurking in unexamined corners, especially in out-of-the-way monasteries in the East. The latest enumeration of those whose existence is known goes up to 2,533; and lectionaries, or volumes containing the lessons from the New Testament prescribed to be read during the Church's year, have reached No. 1,838. The numeration of them by Arabic numerals goes back to a list compiled in 1751-2 by J. J. Wetstein (a pupil of Bentley), who made a separate numeration for each of the four groups mentioned above, and additional lists for the lectionaries. Thus Evan. 100 meant cursive manuscript No. 100 of the Gospels, Act. 100 meant cursive No. 100 of the Acts and Catholic Epistles, and similarly with Paul. 100 and Apoc. 100; while lectionaries of the Gospels were classed as Evst., and those of the Acts and Epistles as Apost. This economized numbers, but had the inconvenience that if a manuscript contained more than one of these groups, it had a different number in each of them. Thus one of the best of all the minuscules, which contains three of the groups, was variously

known as Evan. 33, Act. 13, Paul. 17; while another, which has the complete New Testament, was known as Evan. 584, Act. 228, Paul. 269, Apoc. 97. Accordingly in 1908 C. R. Gregory, with the assent of nearly all Biblical scholars, compiled a continuous list of all the minuscules, and it is this list (continued by Profs. von Dobschütz and Aland) which has now reached the above-mentioned figure of 2,533.<sup>1</sup> The vast majority of them are of very slight textual importance; but something will be said below of their collective evidence, and of the few which possess special value.

## 2. Versions

The most important versions, or translations of the New Testament into other languages, are the Syriac, Coptic and Latin. They will be described in detail in the next chapter but one, but a short statement of their respective dates is necessary here, in order that we may understand the history of the New Testament text. As soon as Christianity spread beyond the borders of Palestine there was a necessity for translations of the Scriptures into all these languages. Syria was the nearest neighbour of Palestine, Egypt a prominent literary centre and the home of many Jews, while Latin was the language of Africa and Italy and the West of Europe generally. At first, no doubt, Christian instruction was given by word of mouth, but in the course of the second century, or early in the third, written translations of most, at any rate, of the New Testament books had been made in these languages; and these versions are of great value to us now, since from them we can often gather what reading of a disputed passage was found in the very early copies of the Greek Testament from which the original translations were made. In SYRIAC four versions are known to have been made: (1) the *Old Syriac*, of the Gospels only; (2) the *Peshitta*, the standard translation of the whole Bible into Syriac; (3) the *Harkleian*, a revision made by Thomas of Harkel in A.D. 616 of an earlier version made in A.D. 508; (4) the *Palestinian*, an independent version from the Greek, extant in fragments only, and of doubtful date. Of these the Old Syriac and the Peshitta are much the most important. In Egypt no less than five versions were current in different dialects of the COPTIC or native tongue, but

<sup>1</sup> The occasion of Gregory's revision was the publication of a wholly new numeration by H. von Soden, in connexion with his new edition of the Greek text (see p. 182). This numeration was unsatisfactory in itself, and inconvenient as blurring the whole textual record; and since it has not been generally adopted, it is not necessary to trouble the reader with it.

only two of these are at present known to be important for critical purposes: (1) the *Sahidic* (formerly called *Thebaic*) belonging to Upper, i.e. southern Egypt; (2) the *Bohairic* (formerly *Memphitic*) of Lower Egypt. The Sahidic appears to have been made about the beginning of the third century, or even in the second, and is the earliest and more valuable. The LATIN versions are two in number, both of great importance: (1) the *Old Latin*, made early in the second century, and extant (though only in fragments) in two, or as some have maintained three somewhat varying shapes, known respectively as African, European and Italian; (2) the *Vulgate*, which is the revision of the Old Latin by St. Jerome at the end of the fourth century. Other early translations of the Scriptures exist in various languages—Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopian, Arabic and Gothic; but these are neither so early nor so important as those we have mentioned.

### 3. *Fathers*

The evidence of early Christian writers for the text of the New Testament begins to be available about the middle of the second century. The most important are Justin Martyr (d. c. A.D. 165); Tatian, the author of a famous Harmony of the Gospels, known as the Diatessaron (d. c. A.D. 180); Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who wrote about A.D. 185; Clement of Alexandria, at the end of the century; Hippolytus of Rome and Origen of Alexandria, in the first half of the third century; and the two great Latin writers of Africa, Tertullian and Cyprian, the former at the beginning of the third century, and the latter about the middle of it. Later still we have the great scholars, Eusebius of Cæsarea in the first half of the fourth century, and Jerome in the second half. The evidence of the Fathers has, however, to be used with care. Thus, in the days when the Bible did not have the modern chapter and verse divisions, and quick reference was not so easy, writers were apt to quote short passages from memory, and so to make verbal errors. On the other hand, longer quotations might well be copied direct from a Bible codex, and other things being equal, these are the more valuable qualitatively as well as quantitatively. But, as has already been explained (p. 59), copyists were liable to alter the words of a Scriptural quotation in the Fathers into the shape most familiar to themselves, more particularly in the case of long quotations, or in the headings of a commentary, so that the evidence of a Father may be less trustworthy when it is in favour of a commonly accepted reading than when it is against it. When,

however, we can be sure that we have a quotation in the form in which the Father actually wrote it (and the context sometimes makes this certain), the evidence is of great value, because the Father must have been copying from a manuscript of the Bible much older than any that we now possess. There is also this further advantage, that we generally know in what part of the world each of the Fathers was writing, and so can tell in what country certain corruptions of the text began or were most common. This is a very important consideration in the part of the inquiry to which we are now coming.

Now when we have got all this formidable array of authorities—our 4,000 Greek manuscripts, our versions in half a dozen languages, and all the writings of the Fathers—what more can be done? Are we simply to take their evidence on each disputed passage, tabulate the authorities for each various reading, and then decide according to the best of our judgment which reading is to be preferred in each several case? Well, very much can be, and very much has been, done by this method. Allowing proper weight for the superior age of the leading uncial manuscripts, so that the evidence of the uncials shall not be overborne by the numerical preponderance of late cursives, a mere statement of the authorities on either side will often be decisive. Thus, if we find in Mark vii. 19 that eight of the later uncials and hundreds of cursives have the received reading, “purging all meats”, while  $\aleph$ , A, B, E, F, G, H, L, S, X,  $\Delta$ , and three Fathers have a slight variety which gives the sense, “This he said, making all meats clean”, no one will doubt that the superiority, both of authority and of sense, is on the side of the latter, even though the numerical preponderance of MSS. is with the former; and consequently we find that all modern editors and the Revised Version have rejected the received reading. This is only one instance out of a great many, which the reader of the Variorum Bible or of any critical edition can easily pick out for himself, in which a simple inspection of the authorities on either side and of the intrinsic merit of the alternative readings is sufficient to determine the judgment of editors without hesitation.

### *Grouping of Authorities*

But is it possible to go beyond this? Can we, instead of simply estimating our authorities in order of their age, arrange them into groups which have descended from common ancestors, and determine the age and character of each group? It is obvious that no



manuscript can have greater authority than that from which it is copied, and that if a hundred copies have been taken, directly or indirectly, from one manuscript, while five have been taken from another which is older and better, the reading of the five will carry more weight than that of the hundred. In other words, the number of manuscripts in a group which has a common parentage proves nothing, except that the form of text represented by that group was preferred in former times; which may or may not be an important factor of the evidence. It does not in itself prove superiority in either age or merit. The question then arises: Is it possible to arrange the authorities for the text of the New Testament in groups of this kind? The general answer of critics in the past was no. It has been very rare, in the history of Biblical criticism, to find an editor forming his manuscripts into groups. They have generally been content to use the best manuscripts that were available to them, and to judge each on its own merits, or even, at times, to decide every question according to numerical preponderance among a small number of selected manuscripts.

A few scholars in the past, however, realized the importance of classifying and weighing manuscripts, instead of merely counting them. The first was J. A. Bengel (1734), who made a division into two groups, African and Asiatic; and this was developed into a division into three groups by J. S. Semler (1767) and J. J. Griesbach (1775-7). The common feature of all these classifications was the recognition that the great mass of later authorities was of much less value than a small number of earlier authorities. This, which is a commonplace of the textual criticism of classical literature, was for a long time received with little favour by Biblical students. It was, however, taken up, elaborated and definitely established as the basis of the textual criticism of the New Testament by the two great Cambridge scholars of the latter part of the nineteenth century, Bishop B. F. Westcott and Prof. F. J. A. Hort; and since their classification (expounded by Hort in the Introduction to their joint text of the New Testament in 1881) has been the basis of all subsequent study, it is necessary to give a brief summary of it.

#### *Westcott and Hort's Classification of Authorities*

An examination of passages in which two or more different readings exist shows that one small group of authorities, consisting of the uncial manuscripts B,  $\kappa$ , L, a few cursives such as 33 and 81,

and the Bohairic and Sahidic versions, is generally found in agreement; another equally clearly marked group consists of D, the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions, and cursives 13, 69, 431, 565, 614, 876, and Evst. 39, with a few others more intermittently; while A (in the Gospels), C (generally), the later uncials, and the great mass of cursives and the later versions form another group, numerically overwhelming. Sometimes each of these groups will have a distinct reading of its own; sometimes two of them will be combined against the third; sometimes an authority which usually supports one group will be found with one of the others. But the general division into groups remains constant and is the basis of the present theory.

#### *Combined or 'Conflate' Readings*

Next, it is possible to distinguish the origins and relative priority of the groups. In the first place, passages occur in which the first group described above has one reading, the second has another, and the third combines the two. Thus in the last words of St. Luke's Gospel (as the Variorum Bible shows),  $\aleph$ , B, C, L, with the Bohairic and one Syriac version, have "blessing God"; D and the Old Latin have "praising God"; but A and twelve other uncials, all the cursives, the Vulgate and other versions, have "praising and blessing God". Instances like this occur, not once nor twice, but repeatedly. Now it is in itself more probable that the combined reading in such cases is later than, and is the result of, two separate readings. It is more likely that a copyist, finding two different words in two or more manuscripts before him, would put down both in his copy, than that two scribes, finding a combined phrase in their originals, would each select one part of it alone to copy, and would each select a different one. The motive for combining would be praiseworthy—the desire to make sure of keeping the right word by retaining both; but the motive for separating would be vicious, since it involves the deliberate rejection of some words of the sacred text. Moreover, we know that such combination was actually practised; for, as has been stated above, it is a marked characteristic of Lucian's edition of the Septuagint.

#### *Localization of Groups by Aid of the Fathers*

At this point the evidence of the Fathers becomes important as to both the time and the place of origin of these combined (or as Dr. Hort technically calls them 'conflate') readings, and of the

other readings characteristic of the third group. They are found to be characteristic of the Scripture quotations in the works of Chrysostom, who was bishop of Antioch in Syria at the end of the fourth century, and of other writers in or about Antioch at the same time; and thenceforward it is the predominant text in manuscripts, versions and quotations. Hence this type of text, the text of our later uncials, cursives, early printed editions and Authorized Version, is believed to have taken its rise in or near Antioch, and is called by Hort the 'Syrian' text. The type found in the second of the groups above described, that headed by D, the Old Latin and Old Syriac, is called the 'Western' text, as being especially found in Latin manuscripts and in those which (like D) have both Greek and Latin texts, though it probably had its origin in the East. There is another small group, earlier than the Syrian, but not represented continuously by any one MS. (mainly by C in the Gospels, A, C, in Acts and Epistles, with certain cursives and occasionally  $\aleph$  and L), to which Dr. Hort gives the name of 'Alexandrian'. The remaining group, headed by B, he described as the 'Neutral' text.

#### *The 'Syrian' Readings Latest*

Now among all the Fathers whose writings are left to us from before the middle of the third century (notably Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian and Cyprian), we find readings belonging to the groups described as Western, Alexandrian and Neutral, but *no distinctly Syrian readings*. On the other hand we have seen that in the latter part of the fourth century, especially in the region of Antioch, Syrian readings are found plentifully. Add to this the fact that, as stated above, the Syrian readings often show signs of having been derived from a combination of non-Syrian readings, and we have strong confirmation of the belief, which is the corner-stone of Dr. Hort's theory, that the Syrian type of text originated in a revision of the then existing texts, made about the end of the third century in or near Antioch. The result of accepting this conclusion obviously is that, where the Syrian text differs from that of the other groups, it must be rejected as being of later origin, and therefore less authentic; and when it is remembered that by far the greater number of our authorities contain a Syrian text, the importance of this conclusion is manifest. In spite of their numerical preponderance, the Syrian authorities must be relegated to the lowest place.

*The 'Western' Group*

Of the remaining groups, the Western text is characterized by considerable freedom of addition, and sometimes of omission. Whole verses, or even longer passages, are found in manuscripts of this family, which are entirely absent from all other copies. Some of them will be found enumerated in the following chapter in the description of D, the leading manuscript of this class, and a fuller survey of them is given in Appendix I. It is evident that this type of text must have had its origin in a time when strict exactitude in copying the books of the New Testament was not regarded as a necessary virtue. In early days the copies of the New Testament books were made for immediate edification, without any idea that they would be links in a chain for the transmission of the sacred texts to a distant future; and a scribe might innocently insert in the narrative additional details which he believed to be true and valuable. Fortunately the literary conscience of Antioch and Alexandria was more sensitive, and so this tendency did not spread very far, and was checked before it had greatly contaminated the Bible text. Western manuscripts often contain old and valuable readings, but any variety which shows traces of the characteristic Western vice of amplification or explanatory addition must be rejected, unless it has strong support outside the purely Western group of authorities.

*The 'Alexandrian' Group*

There remain the Alexandrian and the Neutral groups. The Alexandrian text is represented, not so much by any individual MS. or version, as by certain readings found scattered about in manuscripts which elsewhere belong to one of the other groups. They are readings which have neither Western nor Syrian characteristics, and yet differ from what appears to be the earliest form of the text; and being found most regularly in the quotations of Origen, Cyril of Alexandria, and other Alexandrian Fathers, as well as in the Bohairic version, they are reasonably named Alexandrian. Their characteristics are such as might naturally be due to such a centre of Greek scholarship, since they affect the style rather than the matter, and appear to rise mainly from a desire for correctness of language. They are consequently of minor importance, and are not always distinctly recognizable.

*The 'Neutral' Group*

The Neutral text, which Westcott and Hort believed to represent most nearly the original text of the New Testament, is chiefly recognizable by the absence of the various forms of aberration noticed in the other groups. Its main centre is at Alexandria, but it also appears in places widely removed from that centre. Sometimes single authorities of the Western group will part company with the rest of their family and exhibit readings which are plainly both ancient and non-Western, showing the existence of a text preceding the Western, and on which the Western variations have been grafted. This text must therefore not be assigned to any local centre. It belonged originally to all the Eastern world. In many parts of the East, notably in Asia Minor, it was superseded by the text which, from its transference to the Latin churches, we call Western. It remained pure longest in Alexandria, and is found in the writings of the Alexandrian Fathers, though even here slight changes of language were introduced, to which the name of Alexandrian has been given. Our main authority for it at the present day is the great Vatican manuscript known as B, and this is often supported by the equally ancient Sinaitic manuscript (Ⲛ), and by the other manuscripts and versions named above (p. 168). Where the readings of this Neutral text can be plainly discerned, as by the concurrence of all or most of these authorities, they may be accepted with confidence in the face of all the numerical preponderance of other texts; and in so doing lies our best hope of recovering the true words of the New Testament.

*Importance of Westcott and Hort's Theory*

Such is, in brief, the theory of Dr. Hort. Its importance in the history of the Bible text, especially in England, is evident when it is seen that it largely influenced the revisers of our English Bible. The text underlying the Revised Version does not indeed go so far as that of Westcott and Hort in its departure from the received text and from the mass of manuscripts other than B, Ⲛ, and their fellows; but it is unquestionable that the cogent arguments of the Cambridge professors had a great effect on the revisers, and most of the leading scholars of the country have given their allegiance to the theory. It is indeed on these lines alone that progress in Biblical criticism is possible. The mere enumeration of authorities for and against a disputed reading—the acceptance of the verdict

of a majority—is plainly impossible, since it would amount to constructing our text from the latest and least original MSS. To select a certain number of the earliest MSS. and count their votes alone (as was done by Lachmann) is better; but this too is uncritical, and involves the shutting of our eyes to much light which is at our service. To estimate the intrinsic merit of each reading in a disputed passage, taking into account the *general* predominance of good authorities on one side or the other, is better still, and good critics have gone far by this method; but it still leaves much to the personal taste and judgment of the critic, which in the last resort can never be convincing. Only if our authorities can be divided into groups—if their genealogical tree, so to speak, can be traced with some approach to certainty so that the earlier branches may be distinguished from the later—only so is there any chance of our criticism advancing on a sound basis and being able to command a general assent.

#### *Objections to it*

The theory of Westcott and Hort has not, however, been universally accepted. On its first promulgation it was vehemently opposed by the advocates of the 'received' (or, as Hort calls it, the Syrian) text, such as Dean Burgon and Dr. Scrivener. Much was made of the well-nigh absolute predominance of the received text in the later Middle Ages, and the vast numerical majority of the manuscripts containing it. But the weakness of this argument became evident when it was pointed out that exactly the same sort of preponderance of later and inferior witnesses was found, on a smaller scale, in classical literature generally. A greater difficulty (and it is a real one) in the theory is that there is absolutely no historical confirmation of the Syrian revision of the text, which is its corner-stone. It is rightly urged that it is very strange to find no reference among the Fathers to so important an event as an official revision of the Bible text and its adoption as the standard text throughout the Greek world. We know the names of the scholars who made revisions of the Septuagint and of the Syriac version; but there is no trace of those who carried out the far more important work of fixing the shape of the Greek New Testament. Is not the whole theory artificial and illusory, the vain imagining of an ingenious mind, like so many of the products of modern criticism, which spins endless webs out of its own interior, to be swept away tomorrow by the ruthless broom of common sense?

*Considerations of Objections*

Against this indictment may be placed the consideration that even if we can find no historical reference to a revision, yet the critical reasons which indicated the separation of the Syrian text from the rest, and its inferiority in date, remain untouched. We still have the groups of authorities habitually found in conjunction; we still have the fact that the readings of the group we have called Syrian are shown by their intrinsic character to be probably later than the non-Syrian; and we still have the fact that readings of the Syrian type are not found in any authorities earlier than about A.D. 300. Unless these facts can be controverted, the division into groups and the relative inferiority of the Syrian group must be considered to be established. At the same time, it does seem possible that the formal revision of the text at a set time in or about Antioch may be a myth. Dr. Hort himself divides the revision into two stages, separated by some interval of time, and thus doubles the difficulty of accounting for the total absence of any mention of a revision. It seems possible that the Syrian text is the result rather of a process continued over a considerable period of time than of a set revision by constituted authorities. In the comparatively prosperous days of the third, and still more of the fourth century, the Church had leisure to collect and compare different copies of the Scriptures hitherto passing without critical examination. At a great centre of Christianity, such as Antioch, the principle may have been established by general consent that the best way to deal with divergences of readings was to combine them, wherever possible, to smooth away difficulties and harshnesses, and to produce an even and harmonious text. Such a principle might easily be adopted by the copyists of a single neighbourhood, and so lead in time to the creation of a local type of text, just as the Western text must be supposed to have been produced, not by a formal revision, but by the development of a certain way of dealing with the text in a certain region. The subsequent acceptance of the Antiochian or Syrian type as the received text of the Greek New Testament must have been due to the predominant influence of Constantinople. A link is provided by Chrysostom, the earliest Father clearly to use this form of text, who worked in Antioch for twenty years, and became bishop of Constantinople in 398. The Antiochian revision aimed at producing a smooth, intelligible text, suitable for popular use. Such a text, if once approved by metropolitan churches so influential as Constantinople and Antioch, would naturally become the

received text of the whole Byzantine Church and it is better to refer to it, as is now usually done, as the 'Byzantine' or 'Ecclesiastical' text. Such, whatever its origin, it certainly eventually became; and it is only the discovery of more ancient authorities which has convinced practically all scholars that it is in fact a secondary text, the result of a long process of revision, and that we must get behind it if we wish to recover, as nearly as may be, the original form of the sacred text.

But this is not to say that the Neutral text of Westcott and Hort must be accepted forthwith as final. On the contrary, it has been sharply assailed from another side. It was early pointed out that the argument which the Cambridge scholars used against the Syrian text might be turned against their Neutral text; for in the earliest Christian writers the form of text found in their quotations was much more Western than Neutral. A disposition accordingly manifested itself among the less conservative critics to advocate the claims of the Western text, and to maintain that it was the original form, from which the Neutral had been derived by a process of revision. This view was reinforced by the discovery of the Sinaitic MS. of the Old Syriac version, as described below (p. 227); for here was an authority, unquestionably of early date, with a number of readings which were certainly not Neutral, but had affinities rather with the Old Latin and other truly Western witnesses. For a time, therefore, there was a tendency to exalt the Western text and to question the Neutral.

But this view too is hardly standing up to criticism and the increasing evidence; for the more that instances multiplied of readings which were pre-Syrian and yet were not Neutral, the more difficult it became to define what the term 'Western' meant. If it were asked what the Neutral text is, it was easy to answer that it was the text found in the Codex Vaticanus and its allies. But if it were asked what the Western text is, no such easy answer lay at hand, because the habit had grown up of giving the title of 'Western' to any and every early reading which was not 'Neutral'. The Western text was therefore a congeries of readings, some with Latin attestation, some with Syrian, some even with Egyptian, although Egypt was accepted as the home of the Neutral text. This loose use of the term 'Western' as equivalent to 'non-Neutral pre-Syrian' is not yet extinct, but the truth is that in this sense the Western text is not a text at all. The general trend of modern discoveries is to show that a distinction must be drawn between the truly Western text, to be found mainly in



Græco-Latin MSS. such as the Codex Bezae and the Codex Claromontanus, and in the Old Latin version, and the remaining early non-Neutral readings, for which other classifications may still be found, and some of which will probably remain unclassified.

### *Von Soden's Classification*

A classification of authorities, somewhat different from that of Westcott and Hort, was put forward in 1906 by H. von Soden in the very elaborate Prolegomena to his edition of the Greek text. His system lends itself less than any to brief description, but at the risk of doing him an injustice, and perhaps confusing the reader, the following must suffice. Von Soden divided the material into three classes, indicated by the letters *K*, *H*, and *I*. *K* (from the Greek *koinē*, 'common'), corresponds to Hort's Syrian, and in the Gospels is further divided into a bewildering number of groups and sub-groups; it was revised in the eleventh century and became the accepted ecclesiastical text. From all these different forms of the *K* text von Soden hoped to reconstruct its original fourth-century state, which he believed to be the work of Lucian. *H* (for 'Hesychius', the Alexandrian scholar whose edition of the Septuagint has been mentioned above, p. 109) is roughly equivalent to Hort's Neutral and Alexandrian, between which von Soden did not distinguish. It is found in the Gospels chiefly in B,  $\aleph$ , C,  $\Psi$ , and 33. Apart from the best examples, B and  $\aleph$ , which he thought were related, the others are independent and more or less corrupted by *K*, and to a smaller degree by *I*. It was Egyptian in origin, and was used by the translators of the Coptic versions, and by such Fathers as Athanasius and Cyril of Jerusalem. *I* (Jerusalem) approximates to Hort's Western, and this also has numerous sub-groups, though von Soden strangely ignores the Old Latin and Old Syriac. The best Gospel representatives are the uncials D and  $\Theta$  and the minuscules 28, 372, 565 and 700. He thinks that this is a fourth-century recension, probably connected with the publication by Eusebius and Pamphilus in Palestine of their edition of Origen's text. Von Soden claimed this family as his special discovery, and regarded it as the best; but in truth it is difficult to identify, and consists of a number of incongruous groupings. To one or other of these three main groups, so von Soden believed, all extant MSS. belong, and from them could be reconstructed the original *I-H-K* text, which was that used by Origen. As for early readings in such Fathers as Tertullian and Irenæus, or in

the Old Latin and Old Syriac, which differ from the *I-II-K* text, these he accounts for by contamination with Tatian's Diatessaron, a second-century Gospel harmony of which more will be said below (p. 221). This extreme emphasis on the Diatessaron as the nigger in the textual wood-pile is one of the chief weaknesses of the theory, since we know very little about it and there is no evidence that it had any influence outside Syrian Antioch. Moreover, the extraordinary complexity of the numerous sub-groups and the distribution of the authorities amongst them, together with the virtual ignoring of the versions, has not commended the theory as a whole to most scholars. It need hardly be said that with Teutonic thoroughness von Soden attempted to carry his threefold classification throughout the New Testament. It is tragic that so much labour should have achieved so small an effective result, and von Soden's principal service would appear to be his classification of a number of sub-groups of his *K* family, which throws light on the evolution of the received text.

What seemed at first a promising attempt to isolate a new textual family has emerged within recent years, as the result of researches in which many scholars have had a hand, but in which the greater and more decisive part has been played by the late Dr. B. H. Streeter and Prof. Kirsopp Lake. So long ago as 1877 W. H. Ferrar and T. K. Abbott indicated a group of four minuscule MSS. (13, 69, 124, 346) as having many peculiar readings which showed that they had a common parentage. Then, in 1902, Lake isolated another group of four (1, 118, 131, 209) which similarly formed a single family. In 1906 attention was called to a late uncial (now known as the Codex Koridethianus, or Θ), and it was shown that it had connexions with both of these groups and with some other minuscules (28, 565, 700 and others). Finally, Dr. Streeter proved that this type of text, which stood midway between Neutral and Western, was used by Origen in certain commentaries and other works of his, written during the later part of his life, when he was resident at Cæsarea. Streeter accordingly felt justified in dubbing it the 'Cæsarean' text, and claiming for it a right to recognition as a definite family. Lake subsequently showed that there is reason to believe that Origen may have used this type of text before he left Alexandria for Cæsarea; and the possibility that it may have been of Egyptian origin was strengthened when the Chester Beatty Gospels papyrus (see below, p. 187) was found to have a text of Cæsarean character. But whatever its character, the Cæsarean text has

been placed 'on the map', and the scope of the Western by so much reduced.

The truth would seem to be (and every new discovery of early fragments seems to confirm it) that in the second and third centuries the text of the New Testament, and especially of the Gospels, was under very little control. There was no one centre issuing authoritative copies of the Scriptures, and for some time no need was felt for it. It was the substance of the Christian story that mattered, not the exact words. One community would borrow a copy of a Gospel or Epistle from its neighbour and copy it, and the copyist would not always be a skilled scribe. Means of controlling and correcting mistakes were lacking; and in such conditions various readings would multiply greatly. We know that a similar state of confusion existed among the manuscripts of the Old Latin version when, towards the end of the fourth century, Pope Damasus commissioned Jerome to restore them to order. So, no doubt, in the Greek world, efforts at reform would be made by bishops and scholars, but their effect would be mainly local; and the result would be the formation of local types of text. Such, it would appear, was the origin of the several families which we now know as Neutral (or Alexandrian), Western (in the proper restricted sense), Syriac (the text of the Old Syriac version), Cæsarean, and Byzantine (a title for Hort's 'Syrian' text, which seems preferable, as avoiding confusion with 'Syriac', and indicating the important fact that it became the received text of the Byzantine Church). And if the text which Hort called 'Neutral' is on the whole to be regarded as the best, it is not because (as Hort thought) it has come down substantially intact without having undergone editorial revision, but rather because it is the result of more scholarly and scientific revision than the others, while the Western, on the contrary, is the result of a lax treatment of the text. But on these points, as to which agreement has not been reached among scholars, more may be said after the list of manuscripts and versions has been surveyed. With this preliminary outline of textual theory, the reader will be able to appreciate the position in relation to it held by the several manuscripts and versions which we now proceed to describe.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI  
THE CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT

The earliest printed editions of the New Testament—those of Erasmus, Ximenes, Stephanus and Beza—have been mentioned in the preceding chapter (pp. 160–1), and there would be little profit or interest in a list of all the editions which have followed these down to the present day. But since certain editors stand out above their fellows by reason of their exceptional services towards the improvement of the text, and their opinions are often quoted among the authorities presented to the student in critical editions, it may be useful to give (mainly from the more detailed histories of Tregelles and Scrivener) some slight record of their labours, and of the principles adopted by them. It will not be inappropriate, in a history of the Bible text, to record the names of those who have especially devoted their lives to the task of freeing it from the errors of past ages, and the restoration of it, as near as may be, to its original truth.

There are two steps in this operation: first the collection of evidence, and secondly the using of it. The 'received text', as shown above, was based on the comparison of a few manuscripts, mostly of late date, and for more than a century the most pressing need was the examination of more and better manuscripts. BRIAN WALTON, afterwards bishop of Chester, led the way in 1657, by publishing in his Polyglot Bible the readings of fourteen hitherto unexamined MSS., including the newly acquired Codex Alexandrinus (A) and the two important Græco-Latin MSS. D and D<sub>2</sub>; but the real father of this department of textual criticism is JOHN MILL (1645–1710), fellow of Queen's College and principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. Mill, in 1707, reprinted Stephanus' text of 1550, with only accidental divergences, but added the various readings of nearly 100 manuscripts, together with versions and Fathers, and thereby provided all subsequent scholars with a broad basis of established evidence. Moreover, in his Prolegomena he laid down the principles of New Testament textual criticism for the first time. RICHARD BENTLEY (1662–1742), master of Trinity College, Cambridge, the most famous of all English classical scholars, planned a critical edition of the New Testament in both

Greek and Latin, and to that end procured collations of a large number of good manuscripts in both languages, by comparison of which he hoped to reconstruct the "true exemplar of Origen". But an increasing sense of the complexity of the task, and the distraction of other occupations, prevented the completion of his work, and his masses of material proved of little use. He had, however, stimulated others to carry on the task he left unfinished, and J. J. WETSTEIN (1693-1754), of Basle, who had originally worked for Bentley, made very large additions to the stores of manuscript evidence. His New Testament, published at Amsterdam in 1751-2, quotes the readings of more than 300 MSS., including nearly all those which are now recognized as being of the greatest value. As mentioned above (p. 164) he also drew up the first list of manuscript authorities, using letters for uncials and numbers for minuscules, which has served as the basis of all subsequent lists. To this list some seventy more were added by C. F. MATTHÆI (1744-1811).

Meanwhile other scholars had begun to turn their attention to the use of the materials thus collected; and the pioneer of critical method was J. A. BENDEL, of Tübingen (1687-1752). Besides his justly celebrated *Gnomon* and an edition of the Greek Testament in 1734, to this scholar belongs the honour of having been the first to divide the manuscripts of the New Testament into groups. The great majority of MSS. he assigned to a group which he called the 'Asiatic', though its headquarters were at Constantinople, while the few better ones were classed as 'African'. Bengel did not, however, advance far with this principle, and the first working out of it must be assigned to J. J. GRIESBACH (1745-1812), who in his edition of the New Testament (1775-7) made a careful classification of MSS. into three groups—the Alexandrian, the Western and the Byzantine. These groups roughly correspond to the Neutral, Western and Syrian groups of Dr. Hort, of whom Griesbach is the true forerunner. On the basis of this classification Griesbach drew up lists of readings which he regarded as, in greater or less degree, preferable to those of the received text, and so paved the way for the formal construction of a revised Greek Testament.

So far all editors had been content to reprint the received text of the New Testament, merely adding their collections of various readings in footnotes; but with the nineteenth century a new departure was made, and we reach the region of modern textual criticism, of which the principle is, setting aside the 'received

text, to construct a new text with the help of the best authorities now available. The author of this new departure was C. LACHMANN (1793-1851), who published in 1831, and with a fuller exposition in 1842-50, a text constructed according to principles of his own devising. Out of all the mass of manuscripts collected by Mill, Wetstein and their colleagues, he selected a few of the best (A, B, C, and sometimes D, with the fragments P, Q, T, Z, in the Gospels; D, E<sub>2</sub>, in the Acts; D<sub>2</sub>, G<sub>3</sub>, H<sub>3</sub>, in the Pauline Epistles; together with some of the best MSS. of the Latin Vulgate, and a few of the Fathers), and from these he endeavoured to recover the text of the New Testament as it was current in the fourth century (when the earliest of these authorities were written) by the simple method of counting the authorities in favour of each reading, and always following the majority. Lachmann's method was too mechanical in its rigidity, and the list of his authorities was too small; at the same time his use of the best authorities led him to many unquestionable improvements on the received text. Lachmann was followed by the two great Biblical critics of the last generation, Tischendorf and Tregelles, who unite in themselves the two distinct streams of textual criticism, being eminent alike in the collection and the use of evidence. A. F. C. TISCHENDORF (1815-74) published no fewer than eight editions of the Greek New Testament, with an increasing quantity of critical material in each; and the last of these (1869-72, with Prolegomena on the MSS., versions, etc., by Gregory in 1884-94) remains still the standard collection of evidence for the Greek text. Besides this, he published trustworthy editions of a large number of the best individual manuscripts, crowning the whole with his great discovery and publication of the Codex Sinaiticus, as described in the next chapter. Tischendorf's services in the publication of texts (including  $\aleph$ , B, C, D<sub>2</sub>, E<sub>2</sub>, L, and many more of the Greek New Testament, with the Codex Amiatinus of the Latin) are perfectly inestimable, and have done more than anything else to establish textual criticism on a sound basis. His use of his materials, in his revisions of the New Testament text, is less satisfactory, owing to the considerable fluctuations in his judgments between one edition and the next and his natural preference for Sinaiticus; but here, too, his work has been very useful. S. P. TREGELLES (1813-75) published only two MSS. in full, but collated very many with great accuracy, and used his materials with judgment in the preparation of a revised text. Like Lachmann, he based his text exclusively on the ancient authorities;

but he used a larger number of them, paid much attention to the versions and Fathers, and did not tie himself down to obedience to a numerical majority among his witnesses. Like Tischendorf, he followed no principle of grouping in his use of his authorities, so that his choice of readings is liable to depend on personal preference among the best attested variants; but his experience and judgment were such as to entitle his opinion to very great weight.

Of WESTCOTT and HORT we have spoken at length in the preceding chapter, showing how they revived Griesbach's principle, and worked it out with greater elaboration and with a far fuller command of material.

Since Westcott and Hort there has been much publication of new discoveries, which will be described in their proper place below, but only one large-scale critical edition of the whole New Testament. This is the work of HERMANN VON SODEN, who in 1902-10 published elaborate Prolegomena, including the catalogue and classification of MSS. referred to above (pp. 176-7), followed in 1913 by the text and critical apparatus. It is a work of immense labour, but difficult to use on account of the exceedingly complicated, not to say cumbrous, notation applied to the MSS. Worse still, it was found that the manuscript collations were not always accurate. His text is prepared largely according to his own judgment, and does not differ materially from that of most other critical editions.

Apart from actual editions of the text, most valuable work was done by C. R. Gregory, an American scholar domiciled in Germany, who, in spite of his advanced age, insisted on fighting for his adopted country, and died in the field in 1915. As editor of the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's last edition, and of several subsequent volumes, he provided the chief magazine of textual materials on which scholars still depend; and his catalogue of manuscripts, with the renumbering referred to above (p. 165), is, with the continuations of von Dobschütz and Aland, the universally accepted official list. In England a similar service was rendered by F. H. A. Scrivener (1813-91), whose *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, first published in 1861 (fourth edition, 1894, by E. Miller, with chapters by other scholars), is still the fullest description, up to its date, of the textual materials for English readers. His list of MSS., partly coincident with and partly parallel to that of Gregory, is now superseded by the latter, which alone has been kept up to date. Other scholars who may be mentioned are J. W. Burgon, conspicuous for his vehement and

even intemperate defence of the received text against the doctrines of Westcott and Hort; and Bernhard Weiss, whose textual studies of successive portions of the New Testament (1892-9) led him along quite independent lines of argument to support Westcott and Hort's high opinion of the Vatican MS.

Von Soden's edition having proved a disappointment, an attempt has been set on foot by an English committee to produce a new critical edition on the same lines as Tischendorf—that is, a plain statement of the evidence of manuscripts, versions and Fathers, without any attempt to classify or group it according to any textual theory. The first part of this, containing the Gospel of St. Mark, in the text of Westcott and Hort, with full apparatus, appeared from the Oxford University Press in 1935, under the editorship of the Rev. S. C. E. Legg, and St. Matthew followed in 1940. Unfortunately these volumes have not come up to expectations and have been seriously criticized on the grounds of accuracy and completeness as well as arrangement.

The foregoing list includes all the editors whom the reader may expect to find often quoted in any textual commentary on the Bible which he is likely to use, and may, it is hoped, help him to understand the principles on which their opinions are given. To the reader who wishes to find a statement of the evidence on all important passages in the New Testament, without wading through such a mass of material as that provided by Tischendorf, von Soden or Legg, the following hints may be useful. The student who prefers to use the English Bible will find a collection of evidence, amply sufficient for all practical purposes, and excellently selected by Prof. Sanday and Mr. R. L. Clarke, in the notes to the *Variorum Bible*; where he will likewise find notes which summarize the best opinions on the translation, as well as the text, of the most important passages about which there is any doubt.

Since 1881 there have been several handy editions containing revised texts instead of the 'received text' of 1550. The one that will probably be found most useful by students is the Oxford text (second edition 1947), which contains the Greek text followed in the English Revised Version, with a select textual apparatus by Prof. A. Souter. Another very handy text with select apparatus is that produced by Dr. E. Nestle in 1898 and published by the Bible Society of Stuttgart, which reached its twenty-second edition in 1956. It is the 'resultant' of Westcott and Hort, Tischendorf and Weiss, following the majority of these authorities when



they differ. The same text was published in 1904 by the British and Foreign Bible Society, but instead of the usual apparatus gave a conspexus of the differences between Nestle and the Greek text lying behind the Authorized and Revised Versions. A new edition (1957) has been prepared for the Society by Prof. G. D. Kilpatrick of Oxford. The text is substantially the same as that of 1904, with improvements, but the apparatus, instead of being limited to the variants of the *textus receptus* and the Revised Version, gives "a selection of the important variant readings, including all readings of moment which may be original, those which are characteristic of the main types of text (such as the Western text) and other readings of special interest", with citations of manuscript and other authorities. Other useful editions are those by A. Merk, of which the sixth appeared in 1948, and J. M. Bover (1943). The student therefore now has an ample supply of editions of the New Testament with modern texts and sufficient apparatus for most purposes.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

It is now time to describe the more important of the individual manuscripts of the New Testament in the original Greek, and to show how they take their several places in the textual theories which have been outlined in the preceding chapter. Each manuscript has its own individual character, which reveals itself only to the student who examines it in detail; and some of them have had stories to which an element of romance attaches. It will of course be understood that only the most important can be individually described here; but it will be possible to include all those which the reader is likely to find mentioned in the Variorum Bible or in the smaller critical editions of the Greek text, or in works dealing with textual criticism.

#### 1. *Papyri*

It has already been explained (p. 40) that to the two categories of vellum manuscripts, uncials and minuscules, there has now to be prefixed a third, which has only come into existence within the last seventy-five years, and indeed has only acquired much importance within the last twenty-five. That is the category of papyri, which has added a new chapter to textual history, and has gone far to bridge the gap between the autographs of the New Testament books and the great vellum uncials. Of these, sixty-eight are now included in the official lists, where they have a section to themselves, being indicated by a letter *P* and a number. Most of them, however, are quite small fragments, which have little individual importance, though those which are earlier than the fourth century have some collective value, as indicating what types of text were current in Egypt in the early years of the Christian Church.

*P*<sup>4</sup>. Discovered at Coptos in 1891. Certainly fourth century, containing Luke i. 74-80, v. 3-8, vi. 1-4 agreeing closely with B, with no Western or Cæsarean influence. An independent witness to the Vaticanus text-form.

*P*<sup>5</sup>. British Museum Papyrus 782. This is a conjoint pair of leaves (i.e. two leaves from a single quire, still joined together as

when the sheet of which they are composed was originally folded), found by Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus in 1896-7, and published as Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 208. Since one leaf of it contains John i. 23-31, 33-41, and the other John xx. 11-17, 19-25, it is evident that the whole Gospel was included in a single quire, probably of twenty-five folded sheets, of which this is the outermost but one; it was thus the first example to be discovered of this form of codex, of which many other specimens are now known. In date it is of the third century, and its text agrees generally with that of the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus. Lagrange thinks that it is "more neutral than B (Vaticanus) itself", being a good copy of the textual family from which Vaticanus and Sinaiticus were derived, and shows that this type of text was domiciled in Egypt.

*P<sup>8</sup>*. Papyrus Berlin 8. Fourth century, containing Acts iv. 31-7, v. 2-9, vi. 1-6, 8-15, is generally described as Alexandrian, being very close to Vaticanus; on the other hand what Lagrange calls its 'corrections' in the direction of Codex Bezae incline towards the type of text which in the Gospels would be called 'Cæsarean'.

*P<sup>13</sup>*. British Museum Papyrus 1532. Published by Grenfell and Hunt in 1904 as Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 657. It contains Heb. ii. 14-v. 5, x. 8-22, 29-xi. 13, xi. 28-xii. 17. It is an example of the re-use of a papyrus which had already been used for another text. Originally it was a roll, containing an epitome of Livy, written in the third century. Late in that century, or early in the fourth, the back of it was used to receive the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which these portions survive. Its text is akin to that of the Vaticanus, and it is valuable as containing part of the Epistle which is lost in that manuscript. Now, however, we have an earlier and more perfect copy of the Epistle in *P<sup>46</sup>*.

*P<sup>37</sup>*. Michigan Papyrus 137. Probably third century, containing Matt. xxvi. 19-52, and according to its editor being furthest removed from the Antiochean and nearest to the Western type of text. But Lagrange places it nearest to Codex Koridethianus (Θ) in its oscillation between Vaticanus and Codex Bezae, and included it under the Cæsarean heading. Edited by H. A. Sanders, 1926.

*P<sup>38</sup>*. Michigan Papyrus 1571. Probably early fourth century, though its first editor would put it at the end of the third. Contains Acts xviii. 27-xix. 6, xix. 12-16. Its importance lies in the fact that its text is markedly of the Western type, concurring often with

Codex Bezae. Another example is found in *P*<sup>48</sup>. It is interesting to know that texts of this type (a type specially strongly marked in Acts) were in use in Egypt. Edited by H. A. Sanders (*Harvard Theological Review*, 1927).

We now come to the great Chester Beatty find, the Old Testament part of which has been described above (p. 116). The New Testament part comprises portions of three codices, which when complete would have covered the whole of the New Testament, except the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles; and since all are of the third century or earlier, it will be seen what an important addition they make to our textual material.

*P*<sup>45</sup>. Chester Beatty Papyrus I (see Plate XX). This consists of portions of thirty leaves of a codex which originally consisted of about 220 leaves, and contained all four Gospels and the Acts. In direct contrast with *P*<sup>5</sup> and *P*<sup>46</sup> it is formed of a succession of quires of only two leaves. It seems that these two methods of forming papyrus codices represent early experiments, which were eventually abandoned in favour of quires of eight, ten or twelve leaves, such as we find in late papyrus codices, and universally in vellum and paper books. The leaves are wide, and the writing is small, in a single broad column. Consequently a full page contains a large amount of text, and even small fragments may have enough to be of value. The extant remains consist of portions of two leaves of Matthew, six of Mark, seven of Luke, two of John and thirteen of Acts. Those of Luke and John consist of the major part of leaves, those of Mark and Acts are smaller but sufficient for the character of the text and the readings of many important passages to be clear, those of Matthew so small as to be negligible. For the details of the passages preserved, reference must be made to the publication of the papyrus by the present writer (*The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, fasc. ii., 1933), or *The Text of the Greek Bible* (1937). The interest of the papyrus lies in the fact that it cannot be assigned wholly to any of the families of text described in the previous chapter. In Mark it is nearer to the Cæsarean family than to either Neutral or Western. In Luke and John (where the Cæsarean text has not yet been determined) all that can be said is that it is intermediate between Neutral and Western; in Acts it is distinctly nearer to the Neutral and has *none* of the major variants characteristic of the Western text in this book, though it has some of the minor ones. It therefore adds to the proof that the Neutral text has no exclusive predominance in Egypt, but that rather there was, by the beginning of the third century, a welter

of various readings which were only gradually crystallizing into distinct families, and that the Cæsarean text may well have had its growth in Egypt, before Origen took it to Cæsarea.

*P<sup>46</sup>*. Chester Beatty Papyrus II (Plate XXI). The fortunes of this MS. are an illustration of the chances of discovery. In Mr. Beatty's original acquisition there were ten leaves, in conjoint pairs, containing portions of Romans on the first halves, and portions of Philippians, Colossians and 1 Thessalonians on the second—evidently, therefore, part of a single-quire codex of the Pauline Epistles—and calculations of space made it probable that Hebrews had been included in the missing intermediate portion. This calculation was confirmed when, shortly after the ten leaves had been published by the present writer, it was announced that the University of Michigan had acquired thirty more leaves of the same codex, in excellent condition, which showed that Hebrews was indeed included, and was placed immediately after Romans. Scarcely had these been published by Prof. H. A. Sanders, of Michigan, together with the ten Beatty leaves, when they were capped by the acquisition by Mr. Beatty of forty-six leaves more. The entire manuscript therefore consists, in its present state, of eighty-six nearly perfect leaves out of a total of 104, of which the last five were probably blank; at least they are not needed for the completion of Thessalonians, and would not be enough for the Pastorals, which seem to have been omitted.<sup>1</sup> The order of the Epistles is: Romans, Hebrews, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians; and the only portions missing (apart from a line or two at the bottom of each page) are Rom. i. 1-v. 17, vi. 14-viii. 15, and 1 Thess. ii. 3-v. 4, and 2 Thess. By the courtesy of the authorities of the University of Michigan, the entire text has now been printed in a single volume in the series of *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, and a complete photographic facsimile has also been published.

Here, then, we have a nearly complete manuscript of the Pauline Epistles, written apparently about the beginning of the third century—that is to say, more than a century before the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. It emphatically confirms the general

<sup>1</sup> It is theoretically possible that the scribe, when he got to the end of 2 Thessalonians, realizing that he had only five leaves left when he wanted ten for the Pastorals, may have taken five more sheets and folded them on outside the rest. He would then have had five blank leaves before the beginning of Romans. But it would be illegitimate to assume this. There are other papyrus codices which seem (from calculations) to have had blank leaves at the end.

soundness of the text, while as between the Neutral and Western families it leans strongly to the former. There is a larger sprinkling of minor Western readings in Romans than elsewhere, but even there the Neutral preponderance is as nine to five, while in the other Epistles it varies between four to one and eight to one. One remarkable variant is the placing of the doxology in Romans (xvi. 25-7) at the end of chapter xv. Most of the minuscules place it at the end of xiv., most of the uncials have it at the end of xvi., while the Alexandrinus has it in both places. The position in *P*<sup>46</sup> would seem to confirm the views of those who regard chapter xvi. as not belonging to the Epistle at all, but as a letter of introduction for "our sister Phœbe" to a church (such as Ephesus) where Paul had many friends, which has accidentally become attached to the great letter to the Romans; but it would be dangerous to adopt this conjecture without confirmation, and it is possible that the variable position is due to its being treated like a doxology to a hymn, and being read at the end of xiv. or xv., when xvi., which is mainly a string of personal names, was omitted.

*P*<sup>47</sup>. Chester Beatty Papyrus III. Ten leaves out of the middle of a codex of Revelation, being either the central portion of a single-quire codex of thirty-two leaves or the middle quire of a three-quire codex. It contains Rev. ix. 10-xvii. 2, with the loss of from one to four lines at the top of each page. Written in rather a rough hand, probably of the third century. The manuscripts of Revelation fall into three groups: (1) the four uncials  $\aleph$ , A, C, P, (2) a group headed by *046*, (3) the great mass of minuscules. *P*<sup>47</sup> allies itself more with the first group than with either of the others; but these five MSS. show a good deal of divergence among themselves.

*P*<sup>48</sup>. Società Italiana (PSI), Papyrus 1165. A fragment, apparently of the third century, containing Acts xxiii. 11-16, 24-9, important because its text, like that of *P*<sup>38</sup>, is distinctly Western, and because the chief Greek authority for this type of text (Codex Bezae) is lacking here. Published by Vitelli (1932).

*P*<sup>52</sup>. Rylands Papyrus 457. This scrap, measuring about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, was among some papyri acquired in 1920 by Dr. B. P. Grenfell for the John Rylands Library at Manchester, but remained unnoticed until Mr. C. H. Roberts identified it as the oldest existing manuscript of any part of the New Testament. It contains John xviii. 31-3, 37, 38 in a hand which can be confidently assigned to the first half of the second century. In the middle fifty years of the nineteenth century, if this scrap could

have been produced and its date established, it would have created a profound sensation; for it would have convincingly refuted those who contended that the Fourth Gospel was not written until the second century was far advanced. Now we see that it was not only written but had spread to a provincial town in Egypt by the middle of the second century, which goes far towards confirming the traditional date of composition in the last years of the first century. Published by Mr. Roberts in 1935 (see Plate XXII). Other second-century New Testament fragments are: *P*<sup>32</sup> Rylands Papyrus Greek i. 5, containing Titus i. 11-15, ii. (3), 4-8, at Manchester; and *P*<sup>64</sup> Magdalen College, Oxford, papyrus fragments of Matt. xxvi., edited by C. H. Roberts in *The Harvard Theological Review*, 1953.

*P*<sup>66</sup>. While the fifth edition of this book was in the press Prof. V. Martin of Geneva published an edition with introduction of a papyrus codex of St. John's Gospel (i. 1-xiv. 26) which had come into the possession of M. Martin Bodmer. The manuscript, which is in a remarkable state of preservation, measures about  $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. and consists of five quires making a total of 108 pages, consecutive apart from a break of one quire of four pages (vi. 11-35). The surviving quires are of unequal size—three of five sheets, one of four and one of eight, while the missing quire consisted of a single folded sheet. Fragments of the later chapters have since come to light, but are not yet published. At some time the MS. has been repaired and strengthened with narrow folded strips of parchment which have been sewn down longitudinally near the fold of the inside middle leaf of each quire. The script is a good literary hand of c. A.D. 200. There are frequent errors in the copying, apparently due to carelessness, which however in most cases have been corrected by the original scribe. The text is divided into sections which are similar to those found in the Freer Codex (W) and Codex Bezae (D), but at an earlier stage of development. Apart from more than seventy differences of word-order the text is remarkably close to that of the great uncials, particularly of  $\aleph$ , and shows none of the peculiarities of D. Thus it omits the troubling of the waters (v. 4) and the story of the woman taken in adultery (vii. 53-viii. 11); it reads "the only-begotten God which is in the bosom of the Father" (i. 18) with B and the first hand of  $\aleph$  instead of "only-begotten Son". In xiii. 5 it has the unique reading "footbath" for the traditional "bason". The codex is thus an important witness to the reliability of the accepted text of the Fourth Gospel, reaching back into the second century.

2. *Uncials*

We shall now proceed to describe the best of the vellum uncials in the order of their alphabetical precedence. In addition to their alphabetical designations, which are those commonly used, Gregory's official list provides a numeration in Arabic numerals with a **o** prefixed (e.g. **o46**), so that additions can easily be made in the event of future discoveries. The total up to date is 252. Some of the more important we have met already in our catalogue of the manuscripts of the Septuagint.

8. *Codex Sinaiticus*; one of the latest found of all the flock, yet one of the most important, and therefore (since the letters of the Latin and Greek alphabets had been already appropriated for other manuscripts) designated by its discoverer by the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, *aleph*. The discovery of this manuscript, now nearly a century ago, was the supreme triumph of the great Biblical scholar Constantine Tischendorf. In the year 1844 he was travelling in the East in search of manuscripts, and in the course of his travels he visited the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. While working in the library he noticed a basket containing a large number of stray pages of manuscripts, among which he was astounded to behold several leaves of the oldest Greek writing he had ever set eyes on, and, as a short inspection proved, containing parts of the Greek Bible. No less than forty-three such leaves did he extract, and the librarian casually observed that two basket loads of similar waste paper had already been consumed in the furnace of the monastery. It is therefore not surprising that he easily obtained permission to keep the leaves which he had picked up; but when he discovered that some eighty more leaves of the Old Testament from the same manuscript were also in existence, difficulties were made about letting him see them; and he had to content himself with informing the monks of their value, and entreating them to stoke their fires with something less precious. He then returned to Europe, and having presented his treasure to his sovereign, King Frederick Augustus of Saxony, published its contents under the name of the *Codex Friderico-Augustanus*. These forty-three leaves belonged, like all that Tischendorf had yet seen or heard of, to the Old Testament, containing portions of 1 Chronicles, 2 Esdras, Tobit and Jeremiah, with Esther complete; they are now, as we have seen (p. 120), at Leipzig, separated from the rest of the volume to which they once belonged. In 1853 he returned to



Sinai; but his former warning, and perhaps the interest aroused in Europe by the discovery, had made the monks cautious, and he could hear nothing more concerning the manuscript. In 1859 he visited the monastery once again, this time under the patronage of the Tsar Alexander II, the patron of the Greek Church; but still his inquiries were met with blank negation, until one evening, only a few days before he was to depart, in the course of conversation with the steward of the monastery, he showed him a copy of his recently published edition of the Septuagint. Thereupon the steward remarked that he too had a copy of the Septuagint, which he would like to show to his visitor. Accordingly he took him to his room, and produced a heap of loose leaves wrapped in a cloth; and there before the astonished scholar's eyes lay the identical manuscript for which he had been longing. Not only was part of the Old Testament there, but the New Testament, complete from beginning to end. Concealing his feelings, he asked to be allowed to keep it in his room that evening to examine it; leave was given, "and that night it seemed sacrilege to sleep". He tried to buy the manuscript, without success. Then he asked to be allowed to take it to Cairo to study; but since the monk in charge of the library objected, he had to leave it behind. The superior of the monastery, however, was at Cairo; and he, at Tischendorf's request, sent for the manuscript, and placed it in his hands, a few sheets at a time, for copying. Then Tischendorf suggested that it would be a graceful act to present it to the Tsar of Russia, as the protector of the Greek Church; and since the monks desired the influence of the Tsar in connexion with the election of a new archbishop, they consented to this, and after dilatory negotiations Tischendorf was allowed to take the precious manuscript to Russia for presentation to the Tsar. In view of stories put about subsequently by later generations of monks at St. Catherine's, it should be emphasized that Tischendorf's behaviour was quite correct throughout. He acted all through in agreement with the monks, and when there was some delay in the arrival of the counter-gift which, in accordance with Oriental usage, was expected from the Tsar, he intervened and secured the transmission of a sum of 9,000 roubles and some decorations. To the end of his life he remained on good terms with the Sinai community, as contemporary documents show.<sup>1</sup>

The romance of the Codex Sinaiticus was not yet over, however.

<sup>1</sup> The full story may be found in a pamphlet issued by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1934 (*The Mount Sinai Manuscript of the Bible*).

Since the year 1856 an ingenious Greek, named Constantine Simonides, had been creating a considerable sensation by producing quantities of Greek manuscripts professing to be of fabulous antiquity—such as a Homer in an almost prehistoric style of writing, a lost Egyptian historian, a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel on papyrus, written fifteen years after the Ascension(!), and other portions of the New Testament dating from the first century. These productions enjoyed a short period of notoriety, and were then exposed as forgeries. Among the scholars concerned in the exposure was Tischendorf; and the revenge taken by Simonides was distinctly humorous. While stoutly maintaining the genuineness of his own wares, he admitted that he had written *one* manuscript which passed as being very ancient, and that was the Codex Sinaiticus, the discovery of which had been so triumphantly proclaimed by Tischendorf! The idea was ingenious, but it would not bear investigation. Apart from the internal evidence of the text itself, the variations in which no forger, however clever, could have invented, it was shown that Simonides could not have completed the task in the time which he professed to have taken, and that there was no such edition of the Greek Bible as that from which he professed to have copied it. This little cloud on the credit of the newly discovered manuscript therefore rapidly passed away, and the manuscript reposed, still unbound and in the cloth which had wrapped it at Sinai, in what was presumed to be its final home. It had, however, one more transmigration to undergo. In 1933 it became known that the Soviet Government was not unwilling to sell it, having little use for Bibles and much for money. Indeed, negotiations had previously been opened with an American syndicate; but the financial crisis supervened, and America's difficulty gave England an un hoped-for opportunity. After prolonged negotiations a bargain was concluded by which it passed into the possession of the Trustees of the British Museum for the sum of £100,000 (much less than the sum contemplated in the American negotiations), of which half was guaranteed by the British Government. Accordingly, just before Christmas, 1933, the great Bible entered the British Museum, amid scenes of much popular excitement. There were, of course, those who criticized the purchase. Some used the argument of Judas Iscariot in John xii. 5, but found that its parentage made it unpopular; some revived the legends of Tischendorf's misconduct and the claim of Simonides, but these also had little success. Others, more plausibly, argued that since an excellent photographic facsimile had been published

by the Oxford University Press (New Testament, 1911; Old Testament, 1922) from photographs taken by Prof. Kirsopp Lake, the original was of no further importance; but even this (which never commended itself to those who had experience of MSS. and photographs) has been disproved by a study of the scribes and correctors of the MS. by Messrs. H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat of the British Museum (published 1938), which never could have been carried through without access to the MS. itself. The manuscript has now been beautifully and securely bound by Mr. Douglas Cockerell, and one may hope that it has now reached its final resting-place.

Plate XXIII gives a general idea of the appearance of the manuscript. The original size of the page is 15 by 13½ inches. There are four narrow columns to each page (except in the poetical books, where there are only two), and the eight columns thus presented to the reader when the volume is opened have much of the appearance of the succession of columns in a papyrus roll; it is not at all impossible that it was actually copied from such rolls. The vellum is made from fine skins, and is of excellent quality; the writing is large, clear and good, without any attempt at ornamentation. The MS. originally contained the whole Greek Bible, but, as has been stated above (p. 191), only a part of the Old Testament escaped the waste-paper basket of the Sinai monastery. The New Testament is complete, and at the end are added two apocryphal works, which for a long time enjoyed almost equal credit with the New Testament books, but finally failed to obtain a position in the Canon—namely, the Epistle of Barnabas and the ‘Shepherd’ of Hermas. Three scribes have worked on the MS., two of them in the New Testament, and they wrote from dictation. The original text has been corrected in many places, the various correctors being indicated in critical editions as  $\mathfrak{N}^a$ ,  $\mathfrak{N}^b$ ,  $\mathfrak{N}^c$ , etc. The date of the manuscript is in the fourth century, probably about the middle of it. It can hardly be much earlier than A.D. 340, since the divisions of the text known as the Eusebian sections are indicated in the margin of the Gospels, in a hand evidently contemporaneous with the text; and these sections, which are a device for forming a sort of Harmony of the Gospels, by showing which sections in each Gospel have parallel sections in any of the others, were due to the scholar Eusebius, who died about A.D. 340. On the other hand, comparison with other hands of the fourth century, of which more are now available than was formerly the case, seems to show that it

cannot be appreciably later than the middle of the century. The oldest correctors,  $\aleph^a$  and  $\aleph^b$ , are not much later than the manuscript itself, even if they are not, as Messrs. Milne and Skeat think, the original scribes themselves.  $\aleph^c$ , a very active group of correctors, is of the seventh century; the others, later and of small importance.

A study of the facsimile page will show something of the way in which manuscripts were written and corrected, besides providing a specimen of the readings of  $\aleph$  in an important passage. The page contains Luke xxii. 20-52. In verse 22 (the ninth line of the plate),  $\aleph$  has "for" (*οτι*) in place of the received text "and"; and, as the note in the Variorum Bible shows,  $\aleph$  is supported by B, D and L among the principal MSS., while A heads the mass of later uncials and cursives which contain the 'received' reading. Of the editors, Tischendorf, Tregelles, McClellan, Westcott and Hort, and the Revised Version follow  $\aleph$ , while Lachmann and Weiss are on the other side. In line 10 the scribe has accidentally omitted the little word *μεν*, and has added it above the line. At line 22, which begins verse 24, will be seen an example of the usual procedure of  $\aleph$  in marking the beginning of a fresh paragraph by allowing the first letter to project into the margin, but without any enlargement. In line 23 the original scribe had written *εις εαυτους*, which is found in no other MS., but it has been corrected to the usual *εν αυτοις*: there is practically no difference in sense. In lines 29-33 (verse 25) there is a more extensive alteration. The scribe began by writing *και οι αρχοντες των εξουσιαζουσιν αυτων και ευεργεται καλουνται* = ("and their rulers exercise authority over them and are called benefactors"), which makes nonsense; accordingly he (or a corrector) has cancelled the erroneous letters *αρχοντες των* by putting dots above them (a common method in Greek MSS.), has altered the verb into a participle by writing the letters *ντες* over the erroneous *ουσιν*, and has cancelled *και* ("and") by dots above each letter, thus restoring the text to its proper form. In verse 31 (column 2, line 13) there is a disputed reading, some authorities having the words, "And the Lord said", as in our Authorized Version, while others omit them. The evidence is evenly balanced. Not only A and the mass of later MSS., but also  $\aleph$ , as our plate shows, and D give the disputed words (*ειπεν δε ο κυριος*), while B and L, with the two chief Coptic versions, omit them. Lachmann, Tregelles and McClellan retain the words (see the Variorum note); Alford, Tischendorf, and Westcott and Hort

reject them; and the revisers have followed the latter, though the division of the best evidence must have made a decision difficult,  $\aleph$  and D being a fair set-off against B and L, even if the Syrian MSS. be disregarded.

Small alterations in the MS. must be passed over briefly; they will be seen in column 2, line 45; column 3, lines 13, 14; column 4, line 44. The reader may also note the common practice of writing the last letters of a line very small, so as to get more into a line. But in verses 43, 44, a very important textual question arises. These verses contain the mention of the Bloody Sweat, and of the Angel who appeared to strengthen our Lord in his agony—an incident, it is hardly necessary to say, of the deepest interest and value. Now these verses are omitted by the two great manuscripts A and B (so seldom found on the same side that their agreement is the more striking), and also by R and T, the valuable cursives 13 and 69, some MSS. of the Bohairic and Sahidic versions, and by some of the Fathers. Against these there were, before the discovery of  $\aleph$ , to be set only D and L among the better uncials, the Old Latin and Vulgate, the Peshitta Syriac, other MSS. of the Coptic versions, many Fathers, and the mass of later MSS. The better authorities might fairly be said to be against the genuineness of the verses; but the balance might be held to be redressed by the two modern discoveries,  $\aleph$  and the Curetonian Syriac.<sup>1</sup> They will be seen in the last ten lines of column 3 on our plate. The reader who looks closely at it, however, will see that a faint row of dots has been placed above the first line of the passage, and equally faint hooks or commas at the beginning and end of each of these lines. This shows that some corrector did not find the verses in the copy with which he was comparing the MS. and accordingly marked them as doubtful. Tischendorf believed the marks to be due to the first corrector of the MS., who certainly used a good and ancient copy, and accordingly in the *Variorum* note we find  $\aleph^a$  enumerated among the authorities against the verses; but it is obviously difficult to be sure to what hand such simple marks are to be attributed. Careful scrutiny of the original, since its arrival at the British Museum, has shown (what no photograph could reveal) that an attempt has been made to erase the dots; so the conflict of evidence is made more plain. It is clear that the verses were absent from some very early copies; but it is also clear that some equally early ones contained them; and the majority of

<sup>1</sup> A still later discovery, however, the Sinaitic MS. of the Old Syriac, omits them.

editors have shown a wise discretion in preferring the evidence in favour of their authenticity, since the style is Lucan, and their omission can be explained on reverential and doctrinal grounds.

Our analysis of this single page of the Codex Sinaiticus will have shown the reader something of the task of the textual critic, and something of the variations which he meets in every MS.—some of them being mere slips of the pen on the part of the scribe, while others testify to a real peculiarity of reading in the MS. from which this was copied. It remains to say something as to the general character of this ancient authority and of the rank which critics assign it among the array of witnesses to the text of the New Testament.

Besides being one of the most ancient, the Codex Sinaiticus is also one of the most valuable texts of the New Testament. In many passages it is found in company with B, preserving obviously superior readings where the great mass of later manuscripts is in error. According to the analysis of Westcott and Hort its text is almost entirely pre-Syrian; but it is not equally free from Western and Alexandrian elements. Especially in the Gospels, readings from these two sources are not unfrequent, Western readings being most prominent in St. John and in parts of St. Luke. One most noticeable case in which this manuscript is found in agreement with B is in the omission of the last twelve verses of St. Mark, in which  $\aleph$  and B stand alone against all the other extant manuscripts (with the partial exception of L), though with some important support from three versions and some of the Fathers. Agreements between  $\aleph$  and B are so frequent that it is evident that they belong to the same family of text; Westcott and Hort regard them as the two main representatives of the Neutral text; and whether the text be called Neutral, or Hesychian (as by von Soden), or Egyptian, or Alexandrian (as perhaps seems preferable now that it is clear that it was by no means the only text in Egypt), it is certain that it is one of the most important groups of witnesses to the New Testament text. As to their place of origin, much difference of opinion has prevailed. Dr. Hort was "inclined to surmise", from certain very slight indications of orthography, that they were written in the West, probably at Rome; and that the ancestors of B were also written in the West, while those of  $\aleph$  were written in Alexandria. On the other hand, forms of letters are occasionally found in B which are certainly Egyptian, though it is impossible to be certain that they are exclusively so; and the

writing of **Σ** bears a quite discernible resemblance to a hand which is found (at a considerably earlier date) in papyri from Egypt. Another eminent scholar, Prof. Rendel Harris, suggested that both manuscripts came from the library of Pamphilus at Cæsarea, of which Eusebius made use, and it is almost certain that **Σ** was there when the corrector **Σ**<sup>c</sup> worked on it; but this would not necessarily be inconsistent with their having been written in Egypt. On the whole, however, this is one of the cases where the only fair course is to admit ignorance, and to hope that future discoveries may in time bring fuller knowledge.

A. *Codex Alexandrinus*. This has been one of the chief treasures of the British Museum since its foundation, and a volume of it may be seen, side by side with the Sinaiticus, by every visitor in one of the showcases in the Department of Manuscripts. Its history, at least in later years, is much less obscure than that of the Sinaiticus. In 1624 it was offered by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, to Sir Thomas Roe, our ambassador in Turkey, for presentation to King James I. King James died before the manuscript started for England, and the offer was transferred to Charles I. In 1627 the gift was actually accomplished, and the MS. remained in the possession of our sovereigns until the Royal Library was presented to the nation by George II, when it entered its present home. Its earlier history is also partially traceable. Cyril Lucar (according to contemporary statements) brought it to Constantinople from Alexandria, of which see he had previously been patriarch; and an Arabic note at the beginning of the MS., signed by "Athanasius the humble" (now known to be Athanasius II, patriarch of Alexandria, who died about 1316), states that it was a gift to the Patriarchal cell in that city. But similar notes in two other volumes still in the Patriarchal Library at Alexandria suggest that Athanasius acquired the manuscript in Constantinople, where he spent a good many years in the service of the emperor, and that the codex thus made a double journey—from Constantinople to Egypt in the fourteenth century and back again in the seventeenth. A later Latin note adds that the gift was made in A.D. 1098, but the authority for this statement is unknown, and is presumably a mistake. Another Arabic note, written in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, states that the MS. was written by Thecla the martyr; and Cyril Lucar himself repeats this statement, with the additions that Thecla was a noble lady of Egypt, that she wrote it shortly after the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325), and that her name was originally written at the end of the manuscript. This,

however, was only tradition, since the end of the MS. had been lost long before Cyril's time. The authority for the tradition is quite unknown, and so early a date is hardly possible. The occurrence in the manuscript of treatises (see p. 121) by Eusebius (d. A.D. 340) and Athanasius (d. A.D. 373) makes it almost certain that it cannot be earlier than the middle of the fourth century, and competent authorities agree that the style of writing probably shows it to be somewhat later, in the first half of the fifth century. It is certain that the writing of this MS. appears to be somewhat more advanced than that of the Vaticanus or Sinaiticus, especially in the enlargement of initial letters and similar elementary ornamentation; but it must be remembered that these characteristics are already found in earlier MSS., and that similar differences between contemporary MSS. may be found at all periods. The dating of early Greek uncials on vellum is still very doubtful for want of materials to judge from; but for the present it is safer to acquiesce in the general judgment which assigns the manuscript to the first half of the fifth century.

Like the Codex Sinaiticus, it contained originally the whole Greek Bible, with the addition of the two Epistles of Clement of Rome, which in very early days ranked almost with the inspired books; and, in addition, the table of contents shows that it originally included the Psalms of Solomon, the title of which, however, is so separated from the rest of the books as to indicate that they were regarded as standing on a different footing.

The Old Testament has suffered some slight mutilations, which have been described already; the New Testament more seriously, since the whole of St. Matthew's Gospel, as far as chapter xxv. 6, is lost, together with leaves containing John vi. 50–viii. 52 (where, however, the number of pages missing shows that the doubtful passage, vii. 53–viii. 11, cannot have been present when the MS. was perfect), and 2 Cor. iv. 13–xii. 6, one leaf of the first Epistle of Clement and the greater part of the second. The leaves measure  $12\frac{3}{4}$  by  $10\frac{1}{4}$  inches, having two columns to each page, written in large and well-formed hands of round shape, apparently by two scribes in the Old Testament and three in the New,<sup>1</sup> with initial letters enlarged and projecting into the margin. The text has been corrected throughout by several different hands, the first being

<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Milne and Skeat, in an appendix to their study of the Sinaiticus, identify the scribes of the New Testament with the first scribe of the Old Testament, chiefly on the ground of the forms of the flourishes at the ends of the several books; but this seems to ignore certain marked differences of script.



nearly or quite contemporary with the original scribe. The facsimile given in Plate XXIV shows the upper part of the page containing John iv. 42-v. 14. In column 1, line 6, it will be seen that this MS. contains the words "the Christ"; and a reference to the Variorum Bible footnote shows that it is supported by C<sup>3</sup> (i.e. the third corrector of C), D, L (with the later MSS.), while  $\aleph$ , B, C (with the Old Latin, Vulgate, Bohairic and Curetonian Syriac versions) omit the words, and are followed by all the editors except McClellan. Though D and L represent pre-Syrian testimony, the balance of that testimony, as contained in  $\aleph$ , B, and the versions, overweighs them.

More important readings will be seen in the second column, which contains the story of the cure of the impotent man at the Pool of Bethesda. It will be seen (lines 13, 14) that an alteration has been made in the MS., and that certain letters have been rewritten over an erasure, while others are added in the margin. The words which are thus due to the corrector, and not to the original scribe, are those which are translated "halt, withered, *waiting for the moving of the water*. For an angel of the Lord". A close examination shows that the first and last parts of the passage originally occupied line 14, before the erasure; but the words in italics are an addition which was not in the original text. They are also omitted (see the Variorum Bible footnote) by  $\aleph$ , B, C, L, with the Curetonian Syriac and the Sahidic versions. They are found only in D, the corrections of A and C, and later MSS., and are thus inevitably omitted by nearly all the editors. With regard to verse 4 the distribution of evidence is different. It is omitted, like the former words, by  $\aleph$ , B, C, the Curetonian Syriac, most MSS. of the Bohairic and the Sahidic versions; and these are now joined by D, which in the previous case was on the other side. On the other hand, A and L have changed in the contrary direction, and are found to support the verse, in company with C<sup>3</sup>, the later uncials, and all cursives but three, the Old Latin and Vulgate, and the Peshitta Syriac. Thus the versions are fairly equally divided; but  $\aleph$ , B, C, D form a very strong group of early authority, as against A and the mass of later MSS. L and the Old Latin are, in fact, the only witnesses to the verse which can be considered as pre-Syrian, and consequently we find the Revised Version omits the verse, in common with Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort; Lachmann and McClellan alone appearing on the other side.

Specimens of scribes' errors and their corrections may be seen

in lines 1, 2, 26-8. In the former the words first written have been erased, and the correct reading written above them; in the latter, some words had been written twice over by mistake (*λεγει αυτω θελεις υγιης γενεσθαι λεγει αυτω θελεις υγιης γενεσθαι απεκριθη αυτω*). The whole passage (from the first *γενεσθαι*) has been erased, and then correctly rewritten, with a slight variation (*λεγει* for *απεκριθη*); but as the correct reading was much shorter than that originally written, a considerable space is left blank, as the facsimile shows.

As regards the quality of the text preserved in the Codex Alexandrinus, it must be admitted that it does not stand quite so high as its two predecessors in age, *Ⲙ* and B. Different parts of the New Testament have evidently been copied from different originals; but in the Gospels, at any rate, A is the oldest and most pre-eminent example of that revised Byzantine text which (to judge from the quotations in the Fathers) had become the predominant text as early as the fourth century. It will often be found at the head of the great mass of later uncials and cursives which support the received text; and although it is much superior to the late cursives from which the 'received text' was in fact derived, it yet belongs to the same class, and will be found oftener in agreement with the Authorized Version than with the Revised. In the Acts and Epistles it ranks definitely with B and *Ⲙ*, and is perhaps an even better example of that class than they. In the Apocalypse also it belongs to the Neutral type, and is probably the best extant MS. of that book, with the possible exception of *P*<sup>47</sup>. The Epistles of Clement, which are very valuable for the history of the early Church, the first having been written about the end of the first century and the other before the middle of the second, were until quite recently not known to exist in any other manuscript. The Eusebian sections and canons, referred to above (p. 194), are indicated in the margins of the Gospels, which also exhibit the earliest example of a division into chapters. A similar division of the Acts and Epistles, ascribed to Euthalius of Alexandria, who wrote about A.D. 458, is not found in this manuscript; and this is an additional reason for believing it not to have been written later than the middle of the fifth century.

The Codex Alexandrinus was the first of the greater manuscripts to be made accessible to scholars. The Epistles of Clement were published from it by Patrick Young in 1633, a collation of the New Testament and notes on the Pentateuch were published in Walton's Polyglot (1657), the Old Testament was printed by

Grabe in 1707-20, and the New Testament by Woide in 1786. In 1816-28 the Rev. H. H. Baber published the Old Testament in type resembling as closely as possible the writing of the original. Finally a photographic reproduction of the whole MS. was published in 1879-83, under the editorship of E. Maunde Thompson, then Principal Librarian of the British Museum. A reduced facsimile of the New Testament, and of the Old Testament as far as Judith, has since appeared (1909-36).

B. *Codex Vaticanus*, the most valuable of all the manuscripts of the Greek Bible. As its name shows, it is in the great Vatican Library at Rome, which has been its home since some date before 1481. There is, therefore, no story to tell of the discovery of this MS.; the interest which attaches to its history is of a different kind, and relates to the long struggle that was necessary before its contents were made accessible to scholars. For some reason which does not clearly appear, the authorities of the Vatican Library put continual obstacles in the way of all who wished to study it in detail. A correspondent of Erasmus in 1533 sent that scholar a number of selected readings from it, as proof of its superiority to the received Greek text. In 1669 a collation (or statement of its various readings) was made by Bartolucci, but it was never published, and remained unknown until 1819. Other imperfect collations were made about 1720 and 1780. Napoleon carried the manuscript off as a prize of victory to Paris, where it remained till 1815, when the many treasures of which he had despoiled the libraries of the Continent were returned to their respective owners. While at Paris it was studied by Hug, and its great age and supreme importance were first fully made known; but after its return to Rome a period of seclusion set in. In 1843 Tischendorf, after waiting for several months, was allowed to see it for six hours. Next year De Muralt was permitted to study it for nine hours. In 1845 the great English scholar Tregelles was allowed indeed to see it but not to copy a word. His pockets were searched before he might open it, and all writing materials were taken away. Two clerics stood beside him and snatched away the volume if he looked too long at any passage! However, the Roman authorities now took the task in hand themselves, and in 1857 and 1859 editions by Cardinal Mai were published, which, however, differed so much from one another and were both so inaccurate as to be almost useless. In 1866 Tischendorf once more applied for permission to edit the MS., but with difficulty obtained leave to examine it for the purpose of collating difficult passages.

Unfortunately the great scholar so far forgot himself as to copy out twenty pages in full, contrary to the conditions under which he had been allowed access to the MS., and his permission was naturally withdrawn. Renewed entreaty procured him six days' longer study, making in all fourteen days of three hours each; and by making the very most of his time Tischendorf was able in 1867 to publish the most perfect edition of the manuscript which had yet appeared. An improved Roman edition appeared in 1868-81; but the final and decisive publication was reserved for the years 1889-90, when a complete photographic facsimile of the whole MS. made its contents once and for all the common property of all scholars.

The Codex Vaticanus originally contained the entire Greek Bible, but it has suffered not a little from the ravages of time. The beginning has been lost, as far as Gen. xlv. 28; in the middle Ps. cvi.-cxxxviii. have dropped out; at the end, the latter part of Hebrews (from chapter ix. 14), the Pastoral Epistles and the whole of the Apocalypse have disappeared.<sup>1</sup> It is written on 759 leaves (out of an original total of about 820) of very fine vellum, each leaf measuring 10½ by 10 inches, with three columns to the page. The writing (see Plate XXV(i)) is in small and delicate uncials, perfectly simple and unadorned. There are no enlarged initials, no stops or accents, no divisions into chapters or sections such as are found in later MSS., but a different system of division peculiar to this manuscript and to  $\Xi$  and 579, which is possibly the work of Ammonius. Unfortunately, the beauty of the original writing has been spoilt by a later corrector, who, thinking perhaps that the original ink was becoming faint, traced over every letter afresh, omitting only those letters and words which he believed to be incorrect. Thus it is only in the case of such words that we see the original writing untouched and uninjured. An example may be seen in the thirteenth and fourteenth lines from the bottom of the third column in our plate, where the corrector has not retouched the words *καγω απεστειλα αυτους εις τον κοσμον*, which have been written twice over by mistake. One scribe wrote the whole of the New Testament, but there is no sufficient ground for

<sup>1</sup> The Codex Vaticanus being deficient in the Apocalypse, the letter B is in the case of that book transferred to another MS., also in the Vatican, but much later in date, being of the eighth century. It is of some importance, as uncial MSS. of the Apocalypse are scarce; but it must be remembered that its authority is by no means equal to that of the great manuscript to which the letter B is elsewhere appropriated. It is better to refer to it by its alternative description as **046**.

Tischendorf's assertion that he is identical with one of the scribes of the Sinaiticus, though there are certain resemblances which suggest that both may have come from the same scriptorium. There are corrections by various hands, one of them (indicated as B<sup>2</sup>) being ancient and valuable. With regard to the date of the manuscript, critics are agreed in assigning it to the fourth century, about contemporary with **8**, though the more complete absence of ornamentation from B has generally caused it to be regarded as slightly the older.

Over the character of the text contained in B a most embittered controversy has raged. It will have been noticed that it is only within quite recent years that **8** and B have emerged from their obscurity and have become generally known; and it so happens that these two most ancient manuscripts differ markedly from the class of text represented by A, which up to the time of their appearance was held to be the oldest and best authority in existence. Hence there was a natural reluctance to abandon the ancient readings at the bidding of these two newcomers, imposing though their appearance might be; and this was especially the case after the publication of Dr. Hort's theory, which assigned to these two manuscripts, and especially to B, a pre-eminence which is almost overwhelming. Dean Burgon tilted desperately against the text of Westcott and Hort, and even went so far as to argue that these two documents owed their preservation, not to the goodness of their text, but to its depravity, having been, so to speak, pilloried as examples of what a copy of the Scriptures ought not to be! In spite of the learning with which the Dean maintained his arguments, and of the support which equally eminent but more moderate scholars such as Dr. Scrivener gave to his conclusions, they have failed to hold their ground. Scholars in general believe B to be the chief evidence for the most ancient form of the New Testament text, and it is clear that the revisers of our English Bible attached the greatest weight to its authority. Even where it stands alone, or almost alone, its evidence must be treated with respect; and such readings not unfrequently find a place in the margin of the Revised Version. One notable instance, the omission of the last twelve verses of St. Mark, has been mentioned in speaking of the Codex Sinaiticus; others will be found recorded in the notes to the Variorum Bible or in any critical edition of the Greek New Testament.

The page exhibited in our facsimile contains John xvi. 27-xvii. 21, and it gives some idea of the appearance of this MS. It was

chosen especially as showing a good example of the untouched writing of the MS., as described above; but it also contains several interesting readings. In xvi. 27 it has "the Father" instead of "God"; and the note in the Variorum Bible informs us that B is here supported by the original text of C and by D and L. On the other hand, it is opposed by the original text of  $\kappa$  (both  $\kappa$  and C have been altered by later correctors) and by A and  $\Delta$ . Most of the later MSS. follow the latter group; the versions and Fathers are divided. The evidence is thus very evenly divided, and so, consequently, are the editors; Tischendorf, McClellan and Weiss retaining the 'received' reading, "God", while Lachmann, Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort follow B. The revisers have done the same, being probably influenced by the fact that the evidence in support of the word 'Father' comes from more than one group of authorities, B and L being Neutral, D Western and C mixed, while the Coptic versions, which also support it, are predominantly Neutral. This is a good instance of an evenly balanced choice of readings. In xvi. 33 the received reading "shall have" is supported only by D and the Latin versions, while  $\kappa$ , A, B, C, and nearly all the other uncials and versions read "have"; so that practically all editors adopt the latter reading. In xvii. 11 another instance occurs of an overwhelming majority in favour of a change, the received reading being supported only by a correction in D and by the Vulgate, while  $\kappa$ , A, B, C, L and all editors read "keep them in thy name which thou hast given me". In the next verse,  $\kappa$ , B, C, D, L (all the best MSS. except A, and most of the versions) omit the words "in the world", which are found in A and the mass of cursives. Of the editors, only McClellan, preferring what he regards as internal probability to external evidence, retains the 'received' reading. In the words which follow, a more complicated difference of opinion exists, for which reference may be made to the Variorum Bible note. One reading is supported by A and D; another by  $\kappa^c$  (the third corrector of  $\kappa$ ) and the two Coptic versions; a third by B, C and L. Of the editors, Lachmann adopts the first reading, McClellan the second, and the others, including the revisers, the third. None of the variations here mentioned as occurring on this page of B is of first-rate importance, but they furnish a fair example of the sort of problems with which the textual critic has to deal and of the conflicting evidence of MSS. and the divergent opinions of editors. Finally, in verse 15 (column 3, lines 19, 20 in the plate) there is a good example of a class of error to which, as mentioned above (p. 50),

scribes were especially liable. The words to be copied were, "I pray not that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest keep them out of the evil"; but when the scribe had written the first "out of the", his eye wandered on to the second occurrence of these words, and he proceeded to write "evil" instead of "world", thus omitting several words, and producing nonsense. The correction of the blunder has involved the cancelling of some words in line 20 and the writing of others in the margin. Sometimes the omission of words in this way does not produce obvious nonsense, and then the error may escape notice and be perpetuated by being copied into other manuscripts.

C. *Codex Ephraemi*, now in the National Library of Paris, having been brought from the East to Italy early in the sixteenth century, and taken from Italy to Paris by Queen Catherine de' Medici. This manuscript is a prominent instance of a fate which befell many ancient books in the Middle Ages, before the introduction of paper into Europe. When vellum became scarce, a scribe who was unable to procure a sufficiency of it was apt to take some manuscript to which he attached little value, wash or scrape off the ink as well as he could and then write his book on the vellum thus partially cleaned. Manuscripts so treated are called *palimpsests*, from a Greek work implying the removal of the original writing. The *Codex Ephraemi* is a palimpsest, and derives its name from the fact that the later writing inscribed upon its vellum (probably in the twelfth century) consists of the works of St. Ephraem of Syria. Naturally to us the earlier writing in such a case is almost always the more valuable, as it certainly is in this case; but it requires much labour and ingenuity, and often the application of chemicals (to which infra-red or ultra-violet photography may now be added), in order to discern the faded traces of the original ink. Attention was first called to the Biblical text underlying the works of St. Ephraem at the end of the seventeenth century. In 1716 a collation of the New Testament was made, at the instance of the great English scholar Richard Bentley; but the first complete edition of it was due to the zeal and industry of Tischendorf, who published all that was decipherable, both of the Old and of the New Testament, in 1843-5.

The original manuscript contained the whole Greek Bible, but only scattered leaves of it were used by the scribe of St. Ephraem's works, and the rest was probably destroyed. Only sixty-four leaves are left of the Old Testament; of the New Testament there are 145 (out of 238), containing portions of every book except

2 Thessalonians and 2 John. It is written in a medium-sized uncial hand, in pages measuring  $12\frac{1}{4}$  by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and with only one column to the page. The Eusebian sections and the division into chapters appear in the Gospels, but there are no traces of divisions in the other books. The writing is generally agreed to be of the fifth century, perhaps a little later than the Codex Alexandrinus; and two correctors have left their mark upon the text, the first in the sixth century and the other in the ninth. Of course it will be understood, in reference to other manuscripts as well as this, that the readings of an early corrector may be as valuable as those of the manuscript itself, since they must have been taken from other copies, perhaps no less old, then in existence.

The great age of C makes it extremely valuable for the textual criticism of the New Testament; but it is less important than those which we have hitherto described, owing to the fact that it represents no one family of text, but is rather compounded from them all. Its scribe, or the scribe of one of its immediate ancestors, must have had before him manuscripts representing all the different families which have been described above. Sometimes it agrees with the Neutral group of manuscripts, sometimes with the Western, not unfrequently with the Alexandrian, and through its correctors with the Byzantine. The page exhibited in Plate XXV(ii) contains Matt. xx. 16-34 (eight lines being omitted from the bottom of the page), and a reference to the notes in the Variorum Bible will show that its readings here are of some interest. In verse 16 it is the chief authority for the words, "for many be called but few chosen"; in this case it is supported by D, but opposed by  $\aleph$  and B, which omit the sentence (A is defective here). Similarly in verses 22 and 23 the words, "and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with", are found in C, E, and a multitude of later uncials and cursives, but are omitted by  $\aleph$ , B, D, L, Z, and most of the versions. In all these cases the Revised Version sides with  $\aleph$  and B against C, and there can be little doubt that the revisers are right, and that these readings of C are due to the habit (very common in the Syrian type of text) of introducing into the narrative of one Evangelist words and clauses which occur in the description of the same or similar events in the others.

D. *Codex Bezae*; in the University Library at Cambridge. This is undoubtedly the most curious, though certainly not the most trustworthy, manuscript of the New Testament at present known to us. Its place of origin is doubtful. Egypt, Rome, southern Italy,



Sicily, Sardinia, northern Africa have all been advocated, the last having perhaps a slight balance of probability. It was at Lyons in the year 1562 when Theodore Beza, the disciple of Calvin and editor of the New Testament (see p. 161), procured it, probably after the sack of the city by the Huguenots in that year; and by Beza, from whom it derives its name, it was presented in 1581 to the University of Cambridge. It is remarkable as the first example of a copy of the Bible in two languages, for it contains both Greek and Latin texts. It is also remarkable, as will be shown directly, on account of the many curious additions to and variations from the common text which it contains; and no manuscript has been the subject of so many speculations or the basis of so many conflicting theories. It was partially used by Stephanus in his edition of 1550 and by Beza in his various editions. After its acquisition by Cambridge it was collated, more or less imperfectly, by various scholars in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and published in full by Kipling in 1793. A new edition, with full annotations, was issued by Dr. Scrivener in 1864; and since that date two other Cambridge scholars, Prof. Rendel Harris and Mr. Chase, have made careful studies of its text from rather different points of view. A complete photographic facsimile was published in 1889.

In size the Codex Bezae is smaller than the manuscripts hitherto described, its pages measuring 10 by 8 inches. The Greek and Latin texts face one another on opposite pages, the Greek being on the left hand, the Latin on the right. Each page contains a single column, not written continuously, as in the MSS. hitherto described, but in lines of varying length, the object (imperfectly attained, it is true) being to make the pauses of sense come at the end of a line. It is written in uncials of rather large size, the Latin and Greek characters being made curiously alike, so that both pages have a similar general appearance at first sight. The writing is of unusual form, which suggests that it was not written in one of the principal centres of production, such as Alexandria or Rome, and which also caused it formerly to be assigned to a rather later date than now seems probable; it is now generally regarded as not later than the fifth century. The manuscript has been corrected by many hands, including the original scribe himself; some of the correctors are nearly contemporary with the original writing, others are much later.

The existence of a Latin text is sufficient proof by itself that the manuscript was written in the West of Europe, where Latin was the language of literature and daily life. In the East there

would be no occasion for a Latin translation; but in the West Latin was the language which would be the most generally intelligible, while the Greek was added because it was the original language of the sacred books. Also the volume seems to have been used somewhere where the Scriptures were publicly read in Greek, for the liturgical directions are all on the Greek pages. But Latin copies of the Scriptures existed long before this manuscript was written; and the question arises, whether the scribe has simply copied a Greek manuscript for his Greek pages and a Latin manuscript for his Latin, or whether he has taken pains to make the two versions correspond and represent the same readings of the original. On this point a rather curious division of opinion has arisen. It is tolerably clear that in the first instance independent Greek and Latin texts were used as the authorities to be copied, but it is also clear that the texts have been to some extent assimilated to one another; and while Dr. Scrivener (and most scholars until recently) argues that the Latin has been altered to suit the Greek (and therefore ceases to be very valuable evidence for the text of the Old Latin version), Prof. Rendel Harris and several later scholars maintain that the Greek has been altered to suit the Latin, and that therefore it is the Greek that is comparatively unimportant as evidence for the original Greek text. On the other hand, Prof. A. C. Clark regards the Latin text as having no independent value. Certainly the papyrus fragments *P*<sup>38</sup> and *P*<sup>48</sup> (see above) show that Greek texts of Acts of this type were to be found in Egypt in the third and fourth centuries. Striking evidence can be produced on both sides; so that there seems to be nothing left but to conclude that *both* texts have been modified, which is in itself not an unreasonable conclusion. Some scholars also have maintained that it has been influenced by the Syriac version. The general result is that the evidence of D, whether from the Greek or Latin text, must be used with some caution; and care must be taken to make sure that any apparent variation is not due to some modification introduced by the scribe.

But the special interest of Codex Bezae is not to be found so much in verbal variations as in wider departures from the normal text, in which there is no question of mere accommodations of language, but which can only be due to a different tradition. Codex Bezae, unlike the MSS. hitherto described, which are copies of the entire Bible, contains only the Gospels and Acts, with a few verses of the Catholic Epistles, which originally preceded the Acts; but in these portions of the New Testament it exhibits a

very remarkable series of variations from the usual text. It is the chief representative of the Western type of text, finding its nearest ally in the African type of the Old Latin version. Its special characteristic, as explained above (p. 171), is the free addition, and occasionally omission, of words, sentences, and even incidents. One of these will be found in the page of the MS. reproduced in our Plate XXVI, containing Luke v. 38-vi. 9. The first word on the page shows that this manuscript contains the last words of verse 38, "and both are preserved", which are omitted by  $\aleph$ , B and L, and after them by Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and the Revised Version; while A, C and the mass of later MSS. agree with D, and are followed by Lachmann, Tregelles and McClellan. Verse 39 is omitted altogether, both by D and by the Old Latin version (see note in Variorum Bible). At the end of vi. 9 the words *οἱ δὲ ἐσιώπων* ("but they were silent") are added by D alone; and in place of verse 5 D alone inserts the following curious passage (lines 16-20 in the plate): "On the same day, seeing one working on the sabbath day, he said unto him, Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law." This striking incident, which is contained in no other manuscript or version, cannot be held to be part of the original text of St. Luke; but it may well be that it is a genuine tradition, one of the "many other things which Jesus did" which were not written in the Gospels. If this be so, one would forgive all the liberties taken by this manuscript with the sacred text, for the sake of this addition to the recorded words of the Lord.

It will be of interest to note some of the principal additions and omissions found elsewhere in this remarkable manuscript. After Matt. xx. 28, D is the principal authority (being supported by one uncial,  $\Phi$ , the Old Latin and Curetonian Syriac versions, and a few copies of the Vulgate) for inserting another long passage: "But seek ye to increase from that which is small, and to become less from that which is greater. When ye enter into a house and are summoned to dine, sit not down in the highest places, lest perchance a more honourable man than thou shall come in afterwards, and he that bade thee come and say to thee, Go down lower; and thou shalt be ashamed. But if thou sittest down in the worse place, and one worse than thee come in afterwards, then he that bade thee will say to thee, Go up higher; and this shall be advantageous for thee." Matt. xxi. 44 ("and whosoever shall fall on this stone", etc.) is omitted by D, one cursive (33), and the

best copies of the Old Latin. In Luke x. 42, D and the Old Latin omit the words, "one thing is needful, and". In Luke xxii. 19, 20 the same authorities and the Old Syriac omit the second mention of the Cup in the institution of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but differ markedly with one another in their arrangement of the text. In Luke xxiv. 6, D and the Old Latin omit the words "He is not here, but is risen"; they omit the whole of verse 12, with Peter's entry into the sepulchre; they omit in verse 36 "and saith unto them, Peace be unto you"; the whole of verse 40, "And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them his hands and his feet"; in verse 51 the words "and was carried up into heaven"; and in verse 52 the words "worshipped him, and". In John iv. 9 the same authorities omit "for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans"; this time with the support of  $\kappa$ . In Acts xv. 20, D omits "and from things strangled", and adds at the end of the verse "and that they should not do to others what they would not have done to themselves". In the narrative of St. Paul's missionary journeys in Asia, this manuscript and its allies have so many variations as to have suggested the idea that they represent a separate edition of the Acts, equally authentic but different in date; or else that they (or rather the source from which they are descended) embody touches of local detail added by a scribe who must have been a resident in the country and acquainted with the local traditions. Little changes of phrase, which Sir William Ramsay, a great authority on the history and geography of Asia Minor, declared to be more true and vivid than the ordinary text, are added to the narratives of St. Paul's visits to Lycaonia and Ephesus. Thus in chapter xix. 9, D adds the detail that St. Paul preached daily in the school of Tyrannus "from the fifth hour to the tenth". In chapter xix. 1 the text runs thus, quite differently from the verse which stands in our Bibles: "Now when Paul desired in his own mind to journey to Jerusalem, the Spirit spake unto him that he should turn back to Ephesus; and passing through the upper parts he cometh to Ephesus, and finding certain disciples he said unto them". And when the evidence of D comes to an end, as it does at xxii. 29, the other authorities usually associated with it continue to record a text differing equally remarkably from that which is recorded in the vast majority of manuscripts and versions.

The instances which have been given are sufficient to show at once the interest and the freedom characteristic of the Western text, of which the Codex Bezae is the chief representative. It is not,

however, to be supposed that it is always so striking and so independent. In many cases it is found in agreement with the Neutral text of B and  $\aleph$ , when it no doubt represents the authentic words of the original. But space will not allow us to dwell too long on any single manuscript, however interesting, and further information as to its readings can always be found by a study of any critical edition or of the notes to the Variorum Bible. A selection will be found in Appendix I.

D<sub>2</sub>. *Codex Claromontanus*; in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It has been said that the Codex Bezae contains only the Gospels and Acts; and consequently when we come to the Pauline Epistles the letter D is given to another manuscript, which contains only this part of the New Testament. Like the Codex Bezae, it formerly belonged to Beza, having been found at Clermont (whence its name), in France, and in 1656 it was bought for the Royal Library. Like the Codex Bezae, again, it contains both Greek and Latin texts, written on opposite pages. Each leaf measures  $9\frac{3}{4}$  by  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches, with very wide margins. It is written on beautifully fine vellum, in a very handsome style of writing, and (still like D of the Gospels) it is arranged in lines of irregular length, corresponding to the pauses in the sense. It is generally assigned to the sixth century, and may have been written in Sardinia, since its Latin text is nearly identical with that used by Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, in the fourth century. The Greek text is correctly written, the Latin has many blunders, and is more independent of the Greek than is the case in Codex Bezae, belonging to the African type of the Old Latin version. Hence Africa has also been suggested for its place of origin. It has been corrected by no less than nine different hands, and the fourth of these correctors (about the ninth century) added the breathings and accents. The text of this codex is distinctly Western, as might be expected from its containing a Latin version; but Western readings in the Epistles are not so striking as we have seen them to be in the Gospels and Acts.

The remaining uncial manuscripts of the New Testament may, and indeed must, be described more briefly; but as they are sometimes referred to in the Variorum Bible, and of course oftener in critical editions of the Greek, a short notice of them seems to be necessary.

E of the Gospels (*Codex Basiliensis*) is an eighth-century copy of the four Gospels, at Basle, in Switzerland, containing a good representation of the Syrian type of text, so that it will often be found siding with A.

E of the Acts ( $E_2$ ), the *Codex Laudianus*, is much more valuable, and is the most important Biblical MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is a manuscript of the seventh century, containing both Latin and Greek texts, the Latin being on the left and the Greek on the right (unlike D and  $D_2$ ). It is written in large rough uncials, in lines of varying length, but containing only one to three words each. The Greek is of Byzantine type, but has been accommodated to the Latin, which belongs to the 'European' group close to Codex Gigas (see below, p. 241) and the quotations of Lucifer. The history of this volume is interesting. An inscription contained in it shows that it was in Sardinia at some time in the seventh century. It was brought to England probably either by Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, in 668, or by Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, in the early part of the eighth century. It was probably deposited in one of the great monasteries in the north of England, for it is practically certain that it was used by Bede in writing his commentary on the Acts. Soon after it was taken to Germany by the missionary Boniface, and was part of the spoil taken from Würzburg when it was sacked by the Swedes during the Thirty Years War. Ultimately it came into the hands of Archbishop Laud, and was included by him, in 1636, in one of his splendid gifts to the University of Oxford. It is the earliest MS. which contains Acts viii. 37 (the eunuch's confession of faith), D being deficient here. See Plate XXXIII.

E of the Pauline Epistles ( $E_3$ ) is merely a copy of  $D_2$ , made at the end of the ninth century, when the text of  $D_2$  had already suffered damage from correctors. Hence it is of no independent value.

Of the remaining manuscripts we shall notice only those which have some special value or interest. Many of them consist of fragments only, and their texts are for the most part less valuable. Most of them contain texts of the Syrian type, and are of no more importance than the great mass of cursives. They prove that the Syrian text was predominant in the Greek world, but they do not prove that it is the most authentic form of the text. Some of the later uncials, however, contain earlier texts to a greater or less degree; and these deserve a separate mention.

$F_2$  and  $G_3$ , of the Pauline Epistles, belong to the same textual group as  $D_2$ .

$H_3$ . Forty-three leaves of the Pauline Epistles, divided between Paris, Leningrad, Moscow, Kieff, Turin, and Mount Athos, where the whole MS. once was. Sixth century, written in short

sense-lines according to an edition prepared by Euthalius in the fourth century. A note appended to Titus says that it was corrected from a copy at Cæsarea written by Pamphilus.

I. *Codex Washingtonianus* II. Portions of the Pauline Epistles, with Hebrews after Thessalonians, in the Freer Collection at Washington. Probably seventh century. Definitely Neutral or Alexandrian in character, and agrees more with  $\aleph$  and A than with B.

K. *Codex Cyprius*, at Paris, is a ninth- or tenth-century copy of the Gospels, with a typically Syrian or Byzantine text.

L. *Codex Regius*, in the National Library at Paris, is conspicuous among the later uncials for the antiquity of the text which it preserves, and it was probably copied from a very early manuscript. It is assigned to the eighth century, and contains the Gospels complete, except for a few small lacunæ. It has a large number of Alexandrian readings in the modern sense of that term (having in fact probably been written in Egypt), and it is very frequently found in conjunction with B in readings which are now generally accepted as the best. One notable case in which its evidence is of special interest is at the end of St. Mark's Gospel. Like B and  $\aleph$ , it breaks off at the end of verse 8; but unlike them it proceeds to give two alternative endings. The *second* of these is the ordinary verses 9-20, but the first is a shorter one, which is also found in a small number of minor authorities: "But they told to Peter and his companions all the things that had been said unto them. And after these things the Lord Jesus himself also, from morning even until evening, sent forth by them the holy and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation." It is certain that this is not the original ending of St. Mark's Gospel, but it is very probably an early substitute for the true ending, which may have been lost through some accident,<sup>1</sup> or else not written at all. In any case it is interesting as showing the independent character of L and increasing the general value of its testimony elsewhere.

N. *Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus*. Mainly at Leningrad, but with some leaves at Patmos, the Vatican, the British Museum, Vienna and Genoa. About half of a fine copy of the Gospels, written in the sixth century in silver letters upon purple vellum, with an

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hort suggests that a leaf containing verses 9-20 may have been lost from an early copy of the second century; but it must be observed that this implies that the manuscript was written in book form, which is possible at that date. If it were a papyrus roll, the end would be in the *inside* of the roll, and therefore not exposed to much risk of damage, unless, as is possible, rolls after reading were left with the end outside.

early Byzantine text. The Leningrad portion was discovered at Cæsarea in Cappadocia in 1896. Akin to O,  $\Phi$  and  $\Sigma$ , especially the last.

O. *Codex Sinopensis*. Forty-three leaves of St. Matthew, written in the sixth century in gold letters upon purple vellum, with five illustrations. Acquired at Sinope in Asia Minor by a French officer in 1890, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

P<sub>2</sub>. *Codex Porphyrianus*, a palimpsest of the ninth century at Leningrad, containing Acts, Epistles and Revelation, and valuable as one of the few uncials of the last book, where it goes with  $\aleph$ , A, C.

R. *Codex Nitriensis*, a palimpsest in the British Museum (Add. MS. 17211). It was brought from the monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in the Nitrian Desert of Egypt. It contains 516 verses of St. Luke in a fine large hand of the sixth century, over which a Syriac treatise by Severus of Antioch has been written in the eighth or ninth century. Its text, which is akin to  $\aleph$ , B, is distinctly valuable, and it contains a large proportion of pre-Syrian readings.

T. *Codex Borgianus*, in the Propaganda at Rome; peculiar as containing both Greek and Coptic texts, the latter being of the Thebaic or Sahidic version. It is only a fragment, or rather several small fragments, containing 179 verses of St. Luke and St. John. It is of the fifth century, and contains an almost entirely Neutral text, with a few Alexandrian corrections. Dr. Hort ranks it next after B and  $\aleph$  for excellence of text. Several fragments of other Græco-Coptic MSS. have since been discovered of lesser size and importance.

W. *Codex Washingtonianus I*, in the Freer Collection at Washington. Acquired by Mr. C. L. Freer in Egypt in 1906. Apparently late fourth or fifth century. It contains the four Gospels in an order common in the West: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. Its text varies in character, as it had been copied from several different MSS. Mark i.-v. is Western and close to the Old Latin, but the rest of Mark is Cæsarean; Luke i. 1-viii. 12 and John v. 13-end are Alexandrian; the rest-Matthew, John i. 1-v. 12 (a quire added in the seventh century to replace one that had been damaged), and Luke viii. 13 to the end-is of the common Byzantine type. After Mark xvi. 14 there is a remarkable insertion, part of which is quoted by Jerome from "some copies, chiefly Greek": "And they answered and said, This generation of lawlessness and faithlessness is under Satan, who doth not allow the truth of God to prevail over the unclean things of the spirits. Therefore make



manifest thy righteousness. So spake they now to Christ, and Christ said unto them, The tale of the years of the dominion of Satan is fulfilled, but other terrible things draw near, and by reason of the sins of them I was delivered over unto death, that they may return to the truth and sin no more; that they may inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven." Plate XXVII shows this passage.

Z. *Codex Dublinensis*, a palimpsest, consisting of thirty-two leaves, containing 295 verses of St. Matthew in writing of the sixth or possibly the fifth century, over which some portions of Greek Fathers were written in the tenth century. It was evidently written in Egypt, in a very large and beautiful hand. Its text is decidedly pre-Syrian, but it agrees with  $\aleph$  rather than with B.

$\Delta$  (Delta, the fourth letter in the Greek alphabet) (*Codex Sangallensis*) is a nearly complete copy of the Gospels in Greek, with a Latin translation between the lines, written in the ninth century by an Irish scribe at the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland. It was originally part of the same manuscript as  $G_3$  of the Pauline Epistles. Its text, except in St. Mark, is of the ordinary Syrian type and calls for no special notice, but in St. Mark it is decidedly Neutral or Alexandrian, of the same type as L.

$\Theta$  (Theta, the eighth letter in the Greek alphabet) (*Codex Koridethianus*). This letter, which was formerly given to a number of uncial fragments, has now been transferred to a curious new discovery, to which attention was first called by von Soden in 1906. It is a manuscript of the Gospels, of uncouth appearance, probably of the ninth century, written in late, rough uncials by a scribe who knew very little Greek, which formerly belonged to the monastery of Koridethi, near the Caspian, and is now at Tiflis. In most of the Gospels its text is not far removed from the common Byzantine type, but in Mark it is quite different. Here it is so nearly akin to the two groups of minuscules, 1-118-131-209 and 13-69-124-346, referred to above (p. 177), that the whole may be regarded as a single family, Family Theta; and it is to this family that Streeter gave the name of the Cæsarean text. In the other Gospels it has been revised into closer conformity with the Byzantine text.

$\Lambda$  (Lambda, the eleventh letter in the Greek alphabet) (*Codex Tischendorfianus III*, in the Bodleian). A copy of Luke and John which has been shown to have been originally part of the same manuscript as minuscule 566, at Leningrad. Like E of the Septuagint, it was written partly in uncials and partly in minuscules, in

the ninth or tenth century, when the change from one style of writing to the other was taking place; and as with E, Tischendorf divided the two portions and disposed of them to different libraries. It has a note, also found in twelve minuscules, to the effect that its text was derived "from the ancient copies at Jerusalem".

Ξ (Xi, the fourteenth letter of the Greek alphabet) (*Codex Zacynthius*) is a palimpsest containing 342 verses of St. Luke, written in the eighth century, but covered in the thirteenth with a lectionary. It is now in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, whither it was brought from the island of Zante in 1820. Its text belongs to the same class as L, having a large number of Alexandrian readings, and also some of Western type. Dr. Hort places it next to T.

Π (Pi, the sixteenth letter in the Greek alphabet) (*Codex Petropolitanus*, at Leningrad). A copy of the Gospels, formerly at Smyrna, of the ninth century, which has been made the subject of a special study by Mrs. Silva Lake, who regards it as the head of a sub-family of the Byzantine type, akin to, but not descended from, the *Codex Alexandrinus* (A).

Σ (Sigma, the eighteenth letter of the Greek alphabet) (*Codex Rossanensis*). A copy of Matthew and Mark, written in the sixth century in silver letters on purple vellum, with illustrations. Found at Rossano in Calabria in 1879. In text it is closely akin to N.

Φ (Phi, the twenty-first letter of the Greek alphabet) (*Codex Beratinus*). The fourth of the group of purple manuscripts, N-O-Σ-Φ, at Berat in Albania. Contains only Matthew and Mark, with a note saying that it was mutilated "by the Franks of Champagne"—i.e. probably some of the Crusaders. Its text is generally Byzantine, but it contains the long addition after Matt. xx. 28, already quoted as occurring in D.

Ψ (Psi, the twenty-third letter of the Greek alphabet) (*Codex Laurensis*). A copy of the Gospels (from Mark ix. 5 onwards), Acts and Epistles, of the eighth or ninth century, in the monastery of the Laura on Mount Athos. Like L, it inserts the shorter ending to Mark before the longer one. Examined in 1899 by Lake, who showed that its text in Mark is an early one, with readings both Alexandrian and Western, but chiefly akin to the group  $\kappa$ , C, L, Δ.

### 3. *Minuscules*

Of the great mass of the minuscules it is not proposed to give any detailed description; but a few may be mentioned as of some

individual importance. The official list now reaches 2,533, besides 1,838 lectionaries.

First there is the group 1-118-131-209, known as Family 1, investigated by Lake in 1902, and now forming part of the Cæsarean text. MS. 1 is also notable as having been one of the MSS. used by Erasmus in preparing the first printed Greek New Testament. But in the main he followed MS. 2 in the Gospels, a fifteenth-century copy of the Byzantine text in its latest form. 118, a thirteenth-century MS., is at Oxford.

Next is the other group, 13-69-124-346, with a number of other MSS. showing more or less affinity with them, which is known as the Ferrar group, from its first identifier and editor, or Family 13. All (except 69, which is fifteenth century and now at Leicester) were written in Calabria, and besides their common characteristic readings give the *pericope adulterae* after Luke xxi. 38 instead of John vii. 52. This also has now been subsumed into the Cæsarean text.

28. At Paris, written in the eleventh century. Contains in Mark many important readings found in W, and classed as Cæsarean.

33. A MS. of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles, at Paris, of the ninth century, with a text akin to B, and considered by Hort to be the best of the minuscules; called 'the Queen of the cursives'.

81. A MS. of Acts, written in 1044, in the British Museum. One of the best minuscules of the Acts, ranking in quality with the leading uncials.

157. In the Vatican. Said by Hort to be in the same class as 33 and claimed by Streeter for the Cæsarean group.

565. At Leningrad, written in gold letters on purple vellum. It has the same subscription with reference to copies at Jerusalem as A, and in Mark is akin to the Cæsarean type.

579. A late (thirteenth-century) MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, but probably copied from a much earlier uncial. Contains the four Gospels except John xx. 15-end, and apart from Matthew, where the text is Byzantine, it represents a good Alexandrian tradition which is a valuable supplement to  $\aleph$ , B, L.

700. An eleventh- or twelfth-century MS. in the British Museum, akin to  $\Theta$  and 565, and so Cæsarean. In Luke xi. 2 has the remarkable reading "that Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us" instead of "Thy kingdom come".

Of the rest we cannot say anything here. For the most part they do but produce, with less and less authority as they become later in date, the prevailing Syrian type of text. No doubt good readings

*may* lurk here and there among them, but the chances against it are many; and the examination of them belongs to the professional student of Biblical criticism, and not to those who desire only to know the most important of the authorities upon which rests our knowledge of the Bible text. Only for completeness's sake, and as an example of the smaller form of writing prevalent in Greek manuscripts from the ninth century to the fifteenth, is a plate given here of one of these 'cursive' MSS. (Plate XXVIII). Its text is of no special interest; it is simply an average specimen of the Greek Gospels current in the Middle Ages.

The most important authorities for the text of the Greek Testament have now been described in some detail; and it is to be hoped that the reader to whom the matter contained in these pages is new will henceforth feel a livelier interest when he strolls through the galleries of one of our great libraries and sees the opened pages of these ancient witnesses to the Word of God. These are no common books, such as machinery turns out in hundreds every day in these later times. Each one of them was written by the personal labour and sanctified by the prayers of some Egyptian or Syrian Christian of the early days, some Greek or Latin monk of the Middle Ages, working in the writing-room of some great monastery of Eastern or Western Europe, some scribe in a professional scriptorium. Each has its own individuality, which must be sought out by modern scholars with patient toil and persevering study. And from the comparison of all, from the weighing, and not counting merely, of their testimony, slowly is being built up a purer and more accurate representation of the text of our sacred books than our fathers and our forefathers possessed, and we are brought nearer to the very words which Evangelist and Apostle wrote, more than eighteen hundred years ago.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

We have now completed the survey of the primary sources of our knowledge of the text of the Greek New Testament. We go out into a wider territory. Not Greek alone, but all the tongues of Pentecost—the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, sojourners in Rome, and Arabians—are now laid under contribution. We go to Syrian and Egyptian and Roman, and ask them when the sacred Scriptures were translated into their language, and what information they can give us as to the character and exact words of the Greek text from which their translations were originally made. And the answer is that the Word of God was delivered to the dwellers in some at least of these lands before the date at which the oldest of our Greek manuscripts were written. The Vatican and Sinaitic manuscripts carry us back, as we have just seen, to about the middle of the fourth century—say, to A.D. 350—and the papyri a century or more earlier. But the New Testament was translated into Syriac and into Latin by about the end of the second century, and into Egyptian probably around A.D. 250; and the copies which we now possess of these versions are lineal descendants of the original translations made at these dates. The stream of textual tradition was tapped at these points, higher in its course than the highest point at which we have access to the original Greek. If we can ascertain with certainty what were the original words of the Syriac or Latin translations, we can generally know what was the Greek text which the translator had before him; we know, that is, what words were found in a Greek manuscript which was extant in the second half of the second century, and which cannot have been written very far from A.D. 150. Of course variations and mistakes crept into the copies of these translations, just as they did into the Greek manuscripts, and much skill and labour are necessary to establish the true readings in these passages; but we have the satisfaction of knowing that we are working back at the common object (the recovery of the original text of the Bible) along an independent line; and when many of these lines converge on a

single point, our confidence in the accuracy of our conclusions is enormously increased.

## §1. EASTERN VERSIONS

### 1. *Syriac Versions*

The Gospel was first preached in the East, and we will therefore take first the versions in the languages of those countries which lay nearest to Judæa. Of these, none can take precedence of the Syriac version. Syriac, as has been already stated (p. 134), is the language of Mesopotamia and Syria, and was likewise (with some variety of dialect) the current language of everyday life in Palestine in the time of our Lord. More than one translation of the Bible was made into this language, and these will be described in order.

(a) *The Diatessaron of Tatian*. Although Syriac is a dialect of Aramaic, akin to that in use in Palestine at the time of our Lord, the Gospels were not written in that language, and had therefore to be translated from the Greek for the benefit of the Christians of the Syriac Church. The headquarters of Syriac Christianity was at Edessa, capital of an independent principality east of the great bend in the Upper Euphrates. Now it is known that from about the third quarter of the second century the Gospel story circulated here in the form of a Gospel Harmony, known as the *Diatessaron*, from a Greek phrase meaning 'harmony of four', the work of one Tatian, who died about A.D. 180. The story of this work, its circulation, its disappearance and its partial recovery in our own day, is one of the romances of textual history.

Tatian was a native of the Euphrates valley, born about A.D. 110, who after travels in many lands was converted to Christianity and lived for many years in Rome as a disciple of Justin Martyr. He wrote a vehement defence of Christianity against the Greeks, but after the martyrdom of Justin in A.D. 165 he was charged with heresy on account of his extremely ascetic views, and returned to his native land. Either before or after leaving Rome he compiled his Harmony. Whether the original language was Greek or Syriac is a matter of dispute. In favour of Syriac is the fact that its main circulation was in Syria; but against it are the weighty considerations (a) that its title is Greek; (b) that a Latin translation was made of it, which is not very likely if it were of purely Syrian origin; (c) that it never fell under suspicion of heresy, which suggests that it was produced before Tatian left Rome; (d) that its textual affinities are with the Western type;

(e) that, as there is no evidence of a pre-existing Syriac version of the separate Gospels, the natural course would have been to make the harmony first and then to translate it. It therefore seems probable that Tatian made his harmony in Rome, but took it with him to Syria and there translated it into Syriac. What is certain is that it was in this form that the Gospel story principally circulated in Syria until the fourth century. After the adoption, however, of the Peshitta (see below) as the official Bible of the Syriac Church it fell into complete obscurity. In the sixth century Bishop Victor of Capua found an anonymous Harmony of the Gospels in Latin, which he guessed to be that of Tatian mentioned in the Church historians. His edition of it (with a Vulgate text unfortunately substituted for that which he found) is extant in the Codex Fuldensis (see below, p. 245) written in A.D. 541-6. A Dutch version also exists at Liège which seems to have been made from a Latin text in which the pre-Vulgate text was preserved. There are also extant harmonies in German, Italian and English (the last made about 1400 from a French version, and once in the possession of Samuel Pepys), all presumably translated from Latin, though differing from each other, and whether they derive ultimately from Tatian is not known. But apart from these evidences of precarious survival in the Middle Ages, which have only been recognized as such in the light of modern discoveries, the Diatessaron had wholly disappeared.

Its recovery is a literary curiosity. During the controversy concerning the dates of the New Testament books arising out of the destructive criticism of Baur in the middle of the nineteenth century, there was much discussion of the Diatessaron and its character. Our earliest informant on the subject, the great Church historian Eusebius, in the fourth century, described it as "a sort of patchwork combination of the Gospels"; and if it were compiled, as its name seemed to imply, from the four canonical Gospels, it was decisive evidence that in the third quarter of the second century these four Gospels already stood out by themselves as the recognized and authoritative records of the life of Christ. Such a conclusion was, however, unacceptable to those who, like Baur, contended that the Gospels were not written till between A.D. 130 and 170; and consequently the statement of Eusebius was disputed. The expressions used by Eusebius might be taken to imply that he had not himself seen the work; and another early writer, Epiphanius, towards the end of the fourth century, stated that "some people" called it the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Hence it was maintained by some (notably by the anonymous author of *Supernatural Religion*, 1876, a controversial work which had considerable vogue for a time) that no such thing as a harmony by Tatian existed at all, and that Tatian's Gospel was identical with the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and that again with the Gospel according to Peter—both of them known then only by name and affording no evidence as to the date and authority of the canonical books.

### *St. Ephraem's Commentary*

The controversy on this subject was at its height in 1877 when Bishop Lightfoot wrote his well-known *Essays on 'Supernatural Religion'*, in the course of which he stated the arguments for the common-sense view of the Diatessaron. These arguments were as strong as could reasonably be expected, so long as the Diatessaron itself was lost; yet at that very time demonstrative evidence on the point was in existence, though unknown to either party in the controversy. So long ago as 1836 the Fathers of an Armenian community in Venice had published an Armenian version of the works of St. Ephraem of Syria (a writer of the fourth century), among which was a commentary on the Diatessaron; but Armenian was then a language little known, and no attention was paid to it. In 1876, however, the Armenian Fathers employed Dr. George Moesinger to revise and publish a Latin version of it which had been prepared by the original editor, Dr. Aucher. Why so important a discovery still continued unnoticed is a puzzle which has never been solved; but unnoticed it remained until 1880, when attention was called to it by Dr. Ezra Abbot, in America, whereby it shortly became known to scholars in general. Ephraem's commentary included very large quotations from the work itself, so that its general character was definitely established, and no responsible scholar could question the fact that the Diatessaron was actually a harmony of (or, more accurately, a narrative compiled from) the four canonical Gospels.

### *Discovery of the Diatessaron*

If matters had stopped there, the discovery, though of great importance for the 'higher criticism' of the New Testament, would have had little bearing upon textual questions; but further developments were in store. In the course of the investigations to which Aucher's discovery gave rise it was pointed out that a work



purporting to be an Arabic translation of the Diatessaron itself was mentioned in an old catalogue of the Vatican Library; and, on search being made, the description was found to be correct. The series of discoveries did not even end here; for the Vatican manuscript chancing to be shown to the Vicar-Apostolic of the Catholic Copts, while on a visit to Rome, he observed that he had seen a similar work in Egypt, which he undertook to obtain. The second manuscript proved to be better than the first, and from the two in conjunction the Diatessaron was at last edited by Ciasca in 1888, and dedicated to Pope Leo XIII, in honour of his Jubilee. Unfortunately, although it is affirmed by competent scholars that the Arabic shows evident signs of being translated from Syriac, it is clear that the Syriac text from which the version was made had been accommodated to the Peshitta. Thus, although the original Syriac may have survived here and there, the Arabic version is not of very much help for recovering the actual text of Tatian.

### *The Dura Fragment*

There is, however, yet another discovery, very recent in date, to be mentioned in connexion with the Diatessaron. In 1920 British troops were in occupation at a place called Salihyah on the western bank of the Upper Euphrates, and there some English officers discovered the remains of a Roman fortress, on the walls of which were remains of ancient paintings. They reported their find to headquarters, and Miss Gertrude Bell, realizing their importance, urged the American archæologist Prof. J. H. Breasted to visit the site. The troops were, however, on the eve of being withdrawn, and Prof. Breasted was only able to have a single day there. Without that one day all interest in the site might have been lost; but Prof. Breasted and his colleagues were able to realize the value of the paintings and to take notes and photographs, and subsequently, when Salihyah had come within the area of the French mandate, detailed excavations were undertaken by Prof. Franz Cumont and Prof. Breasted, subsequently continued by Yale University, under the direction of Prof. M. Rostovzeff. These excavations revealed that the site was that of Dura-Europos, a Roman fortified frontier city, which after various vicissitudes had been captured by the Persians in A.D. 256. Just before the final siege the walls had been strengthened by a huge ramp on the inside, which sealed up the ruins of a quantity of buildings, including

a Christian church and a Jewish synagogue; and among them was a room with a number of papyrus and vellum fragments. One of these vellum fragments, when examined at Yale in 1933, proved to contain fourteen imperfect lines of the Diatessaron in Greek. The document is necessarily earlier than A.D. 256, and may be assigned with certainty to the first half of the third century.

This is the only extant fragment of the Diatessaron itself, as distinct from translations; and the fact that it is in Greek, although found in the extreme corner of Syria, has been used as an argument in favour of Greek being the original. This, however, cannot be pressed; for Dura was a commercial town and a military fortress, and there must have been many there, whether soldiers or civilians, who were unacquainted with Syriac. This is shown by the documents among which the fragment was found, which are commercial documents in Greek and military documents in Latin. The arguments for a Greek original are not therefore materially strengthened by this find.

The text of the fragment contains the narrative of the petition of Joseph of Arimathea for the body of Jesus, and even within these fourteen lines all four canonical Gospels are employed, while two words are grammatically altered to suit the combination of phrases from different Gospels. This shows with what caution the evidence of Tatian, even when we can ascertain it, must be used; for we have to allow for editorial rehandling as well as the combination of words from the different Gospels in an intricate mosaic.

### *The Text of the Diatessaron and its Influence*

If, as is generally assumed, Tatian first made his harmony in Greek and then translated it into Syriac, it is likely that his Greek Gospel text was brought from Rome, and that it was the one in use there in the last half of the second century. And indeed this seems to be borne out by the textual character of the Diatessaron, which is Western, and geographically so. Thus, it is closer to Codex Bezae and the Old Latin than is the Old Syriac version, which also has Western characteristics (though some influence between the two is to be expected). In turn this raises the question of the wider influence of the Diatessaron. As we have seen, von Soden attributed all early harmonistic readings to Tatian's text, whereas Burkitt believed that it had little influence outside the Syriac versions. But, on the one hand, we should expect to find

more evidence for its circulation if its influence was as great as von Soden maintained; to which it may be added that the existence of harmonizing readings is no proof of the use of a harmony. On the other hand, some of the agreements of the Diatessaron and the Old Latin are hard to explain as mere coincidences, and Burkitt himself was later disposed to conjecture the existence of an Old Latin harmony which has left its traces in the surviving Old Latin Gospels.

(b) *The Old Syriac*. It has been seen that our knowledge of the Diatessaron, apart from references to it in Church historians such as Eusebius, is the fruit of modern discoveries. The same is true of the version which ranks next in time among the Syriac authorities. A century ago its very existence was unknown. Some acute critics had indeed guessed that there must have been a version in Syriac older than that which bears the name of the Peshitta, but no portion of it was known to exist. In 1842, however, a great mass of Syriac manuscripts reached the British Museum from the library of a monastery in the Nitrian Desert in Egypt—the result of long negotiations with the monks by various travellers. Among them was the palimpsest under whose Syriac text is the copy of the Greek Gospels known as R (see p. 215), many copies of the ordinary Syriac Bible, and other precious documents. But among them also were some eighty leaves of a copy of the Gospels in Syriac which Dr. Cureton, one of the officers of the Museum, recognized as containing a completely different text from any manuscript previously known. These leaves were edited by him, with a preface in which he contended that in this version we have the very words of our Lord's discourses, in the identical language in which they were originally spoken. The manuscript itself (of eighty leaves and written in double columns) is of the fifth century, practically contemporary with the earliest manuscripts which we possess of the Peshitta Syriac; but Cureton argued that the character of the translation showed that the original of his version (which from the name of its discoverer is often known as the Curetonian Syriac, and is so referred to in the Variorum Bible) must have been made earlier than the original of the Peshitta, and that, in fact, the Peshitta was a revision of the Old Syriac, just as the Vulgate Latin was in part a revision of the Old Latin.

On this point a hot controversy raged for some time, since scholars familiar with the Peshitta, some of whom had even been inclined to regard it as being as early as the second century, were

not inclined to yield the primacy to the newcomer. This controversy, however, is now over. No one now doubts that the Curetonian MS. represents a version earlier than the Peshitta. On the one hand, as will appear shortly, the origin of the Peshitta is now almost certainly established; and, on the other, additional evidence has come to light with regard to the version represented by the Curetonian MS.

A new copy of the Old Syriac Gospels was discovered, and its text published at the very time when the first edition of this book was being written. In 1892 two enterprising Cambridge ladies, Mrs. Lewis and her sister, Mrs. Gibson, visited the monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, the place where Tischendorf made his celebrated discovery of the Codex Sinaiticus, and where Prof. Rendel Harris had quite recently found a Syriac copy of a very early Christian work, hitherto supposed to be lost, the *Apology of Aristides*. These ladies photographed a number of manuscripts, among them a Syriac palimpsest which they had noticed as containing a Gospel text; and when they brought their photographs home, the underlying text of this palimpsest was recognized by two Cambridge Orientalists, Mr. F. C. Burkitt and Prof. Bensly, as belonging to the Old Syriac version, hitherto known only in the fragments of Cureton. The palimpsest contains the greater part (about three-fourths, the rest being undecipherable) of the four Gospels. Naturally enough the announcement of the discovery aroused much interest, and another expedition was made to Sinai to copy the MS. in full, after which the half-obliterated writing had to be painfully deciphered and edited. The results are now part of the permanent stock of textual criticism.

It is clear, in the first place, that the Sinaitic MS. does not represent precisely the same text as the Curetonian. The differences between them are much more marked than, say, between any two manuscripts of the Peshitta or of the Greek Testament. One striking proof of this may be found in the first chapter of St. Matthew; for whereas the Curetonian MS. emphasizes the fact of the Miraculous Conception, reading in verse 16, "Jacob begat Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, who bare Jesus Christ" (thus avoiding even the word "husband", which occurs in the Greek), the Sinaitic MS. appears at first sight even to deny it, reading, "Jacob begat Joseph, and Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus, who is called Christ." It is not surprising that some scholars were eager to claim this as

the original form of the narrative, the story of the Divine Conception being (in their view) a later excrescence. It was, however, soon pointed out by Mr. Burkitt, one of the first editors of the Sinai manuscript, and eventually editor of the authoritative edition of the Old Syriac version, that the reading is not in fact unorthodox. It has long been recognized that the genealogy in St. Matthew is not the record of an actual line of descent, but rather of an official line of succession. Thus Salathiel was not the son of Jechonias, and the kings of Judah from Solomon to Jechonias, who figure in St. Matthew's genealogy, were not ancestors of Joseph. Hence there is no more reason for pressing the literal meaning of the word "begat" in the statement of the relationship between Joseph and our Lord than there is elsewhere in the record. This explanation accounts for the fact that in other respects the language of the Sinaitic Syriac implies the Virgin Birth,<sup>1</sup> while the very fact of the ambiguity of the phrase accounts for the alteration introduced into the Curetonian copy. It does not necessarily follow that the Sinaitic Syriac represents the original words of the Evangelist more accurately than the Greek text; but the former can be relieved from the charge of deliberate alteration of the text with a polemical motive.

In other passages also the Sinaitic MS. shows noteworthy divergences from the Curetonian. Thus Sin. (to use its common abbreviation) omits Matt. xxiii. 14 (one of the woes pronounced against the scribes and Pharisees) with  $\aleph$ , B, D, while Cur. has it. Cur. had the last twelve verses of St. Mark (only a portion survives, but enough to prove that it was there), but Sin. omits them. In Luke xi. 2-4 Sin. with  $\aleph$ , B, gives a shorter version of the Lord's Prayer than Cur. In the narrative of the institution of the Lord's Supper (Luke xxii.) Sin. gives the verses in the order 19, 20a, 17, 20b, 18, Cur. in the order 19, 17, 18, omitting 20, each representing a different attempt to get rid of the apparent double mention of the Cup. In Luke xxii. 43, 44, Cur. gives the episode of the Angel and the Bloody Sweat with D, while Sin. omits it with B; and similarly Sin. with B, D, omits, while Cur. has, the Word from the Cross, "Father, forgive them", etc., in xxiii. 34. In John xi. 39 Sin. has a curious addition, which is found nowhere else, after "Martha . . . saith unto him", "Why are they taking away the stone?" Cur. is defective here, so it is impossible to say

<sup>1</sup> The title "Mary the Virgin" itself implies a comparatively late origin; and the phrase "before they came together", the quotation from Isaiah referring to the Virgin Birth, and the narrative of Joseph's doubts and behaviour are meaningless and unintelligible on the unorthodox interpretation.

whether it agreed or differed. Among other readings may be mentioned: Matt. xxvii. 16 where Sin. has "Jesus Barabbas" with Θ fam. 1 (almost certainly the original text); Luke vi. 48 where Sin. omits "for it was founded upon a rock" with the minuscule 700 against all uncials and versions—in both these Cur. is lacking; and Luke xxiii. 10–12 (the reconciliation of Pilate and Herod), which Sin. omits against all other authorities.

In spite of such not unimportant differences, there is no doubt that the two MSS. represent the same version, and that one of great antiquity. Its Syriac title "The Gospel of the Separated" was evidently given to it by contrast with Tatian's Harmony, and seems to show that it is later than the Diatessaron, though some scholars have argued that it represents an earlier, pre-Tatian form of the Syriac Gospel text. Its date, according to Burkitt, who edited the Curetonian and Sinaitic MSS., was about A.D. 200. The Sinaitic, it is usually thought, is the earlier and better form of the version, and it will be seen from the previous paragraph that it is a 'short' text, shorter than the Curetonian, shorter even than the B text in some respects. The Curetonian is a somewhat later form which has been revised in some degree from later Greek MSS. and shows a greater influence of the Diatessaron. The importance of the Old Syriac is that we have here the form of text known in Edessa and Antioch about the beginning of the third century. It has definite Western characteristics (due in part to the influence of the Diatessaron), but it has others which are neither Western nor Alexandrian, and which because of their age deserve serious consideration. It is probable that Old Syriac versions of other books than the Gospels originally existed, since St. Ephraem, whose date precedes the Peshitta, is known to have written commentaries on the Acts and Pauline Epistles, which implies the existence of Syriac translations. It is moreover unlikely that the Syriac Church, which appears to have possessed the Old Testament in its own language from the third century at least, would have been content with a New Testament consisting only of the Gospels. But no trace has survived of an Old Syriac version of these books.

(c) *The Peshitta* (*Pesh.* in *Variorum Bible*). This is the great standard version of the ancient Syriac Church, current and in general use from the fifth century onwards. Its history as elucidated by Burkitt has been followed by most English scholars. It was formerly supposed to have been used by St. Ephraem, who died in A.D. 373, and some scholars put it back to the third, or even the

second, century. Burkitt, however, showed that this belief was unfounded, and that there was no evidence of the use of this version before the fifth century, to which the earliest extant MSS. of it belong. Now it is on record that Rabbula, bishop of Edessa from A.D. 411 to 435, translated the New Testament from Greek into Syriac, and ordered a copy to be placed in every church in his diocese. It is therefore natural to conclude that the Peshitta, which is found in circulation in the generation after Rabbula, is in fact his translation, the prompt acceptance of which would be due to his authority. Rabbula is, in fact, the Jerome of the Syriac Church. Recently, however, Burkitt's view has been challenged in one particular by Prof. Matthew Black. On the basis of a careful examination of the Gospel quotations in Rabbula's translation of Cyril of Alexandria's *De recta fide* made towards the end of his life, Dr. Black concludes that Rabbula's revision still contained a not inconsiderable Old Syriac element, and was a kind of half-way stage between the Old Syriac and the final form of the Peshitta which we find in the manuscripts.

The name Peshitta (or Peshitto, as it is often less correctly known) means 'simple', though whether in contrast to the more elaborate Harkleian version with its marginal apparatus and (sometimes obscurely) literal rendering is uncertain. The Peshitta is known to us in a much greater number of manuscripts than the Old Syriac, the total hitherto recorded being about 250. Nearly half of these, including the most ancient, formed part of the splendid collection of Syriac MSS. from the Nitrian Desert to which allusion has already been made (p. 215) and are now in the British Museum. Of some of these, containing parts of the Old Testament, we have spoken above (p. 135). Of those which contain the New Testament, two are of the fifth century (the oldest being Add. MS. 14459, in the British Museum, containing the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark), and at least a dozen more are not later than the sixth century, three of them bearing precise dates in the years 530-9, 534 and 548. The Peshitta was first printed by Widmanstadt, in 1555, from only two manuscripts, both of late date. It was re-edited by G. H. Gwilliam and J. Gwynn in 1902-20 from some forty MSS., many of them of very early date, as shown above; but so carefully were the later copies of the Peshitta made, between the fifth and twelfth centuries, that the substantial difference between these two editions is very slight.

That the foundations of the Peshitta go back to a very early

date is shown by the fact that it does not contain those books of the New Testament which were the last to be generally accepted. All copies of it omit 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude and the Apocalypse. Since, moreover, it was used by both the Monophysite and the Nestorian Churches, it must have been generally accepted before 431, when the Nestorian secession took place. It is a smooth, scholarly, accurate version, free and idiomatic, without being loose, and Greek texts of the Syrian family have evidently been used for it. Its relations with the Old Syriac have been discussed above. It appears to be not so much a revision of it (at any rate as it appears in the Curetonian and Sinaitic MSS.) as a later version based in part upon it, but upon other material as well. On the whole it represents the Byzantine text in an early stage, but more ancient elements can sometimes be discerned.

(d) *The Philoxenian and Harkleian Syriac.* In the year 508, Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, in eastern Syria, thinking the current Peshitta version did not represent the original Greek accurately enough, caused it to be revised throughout by one Polycarp; and in A.D. 616 this version was itself revised, with the assistance of some Greek manuscripts in Alexandria, and provided with an apparatus of variant readings in the margin, by Thomas of Harkel, himself also subsequently bishop of Mabug. This version had practically escaped notice until 1730, when four copies of it were sent from the East to Dr. Ridley, of New College, Oxford, from which, after his death, an edition was printed by Prof. J. White in 1778-1803. A new edition is being prepared by Prof. W. D. McHardy. Some scholars take the view that Thomas of Harkel merely reissued the Philoxenian version with the addition of marginal notes. The Harkleian text is now known to us in many manuscripts, a total of about fifty being recorded. A large proportion of these are in England. The best is said to be one in the Cambridge University Library, written in 1170, but a copy of the seventh century and another of the eighth century exist at Rome, another at Florence bears the date A.D. 757, and there are two of the tenth century in the British Museum. The marginal readings are of special importance in the books of Acts, since they show remarkable affinity with the text of Codex Bezae. See Plate XXIX.

If the original Philoxenian version differed from the Harkleian, it seems to have survived only in the four minor Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, which were adopted into the Syriac New Testament, having been omitted by the Peshitta. The four



epistles were edited by Pococke in 1630, and a copy of the Apocalypse was discovered in a MS. in the John Rylands Library at Manchester by Dr. Gwynn of Dublin, and published in 1897. The style of the Philoxenian is said to be clear and idiomatic Syriac; the Harkleian, on the other hand, is of a totally different character, being literal in the extreme, and therefore useful for reconstructing the Greek text behind it. The new edition of the text should decide the extent of Harkleian revision.

(e) *The Palestinian Syriac*. There is yet another version of the New Testament in Syriac, known to us only in fragments, in a dialect of Syriac different from all the other versions, which would be designated more accurately as Western or Jewish Aramaic. It is believed to have been made at Antioch in the sixth century, and to have been used exclusively in Palestine. It was originally discovered at the end of the eighteenth century by Adler in a lectionary (containing lessons from the Gospels only) in the Vatican Library, and was fully edited by Erizzo in 1861-4 and by Lagarde in 1892. Since then fragments of the Gospels and Acts have come to light in the British Museum and at Leningrad; fragments of the Pauline Epistles in the Bodleian and at Mount Sinai; and two additional lectionaries were found at the latter place by Mrs. Lewis, and edited by her. The text of this version is mixed.

This closes the list of Syriac versions,<sup>1</sup> which rank among the oldest and most interesting of all translations of the New Testament. From Syria and Mesopotamia we pass now to the neighbouring country of Egypt.

## 2. *Egyptian Versions*

The history of the Coptic language, as it existed in Egypt at the time when the Christian Scriptures were translated in that country, has been told in a previous chapter (p. 136). There can be no doubt that Christianity spread into Egypt at a very early date. Alexandria, then the headquarters of Greek literature, possessed a large colony of Jews, by and for whom the Septuagint version of the Hebrew Scriptures had been made; and religious thought and philosophy flourished among them. Apollos, the disciple of St. Paul, was a Jew of Alexandria; and the intercourse

<sup>1</sup> Another Syriac version is sometimes enumerated, styled the *Karkaphensian*; but this is not a continuous version at all, but a collection of passages on which annotations are made dealing with questions of spelling and pronunciation. It is like the Massorah on the Hebrew Old Testament, and probably derives its name from the monastery in which it was compiled.

of Alexandria with Palestine, with Syria and with Asia Minor made it inevitable that the new religion should spread thither soon after it had overleapt the boundaries of Palestine itself. At what precise date the New Testament books were translated into the native language of Egypt we cannot tell. Some time would elapse before the faith spread from the Greek-speaking population to the Coptic natives; some time more before oral teaching was superseded by written books. But by or soon after the end of the second century it is probable that the first Coptic version had been made. Our knowledge of these versions is, for the most part, of quite recent growth, and is growing still through the discovery of manuscripts in Egypt. Different dialects were spoken in different parts of the country, and each of these came in course of time to have its own version of the Scriptures. Until recently only two of these versions were known; we are now acquainted, more or less, with five, but whether each of them possessed a complete Bible of its own is quite uncertain.

(a) *The Sahidic or Thebaic* version (from Es-sa'id, the Arabic name of Upper Egypt) (*Theb.* in *Variorum Bible*). Thebaic is the older name, Sahidic the more accurate and the one now in general use. This is the version which was current in Upper (i.e. southern) Egypt, of which the chief town was Thebes. Its existence was not noticed until the end of the eighteenth century, and the first printed edition of a few fragments of it was that of Woide, published at Oxford, after his death, in 1799. Since that date our knowledge of the Sahidic version has enormously increased. It exists only in fragments, but these fragments are now very numerous indeed, so that it has been possible for Mr. Horner to put together a practically complete Sahidic New Testament, with, at any rate in the Gospels, not less than three witnesses for almost every passage. Many of the fragments are of very early date, going back to the fifth, and even to the fourth, century. The British Museum acquired in 1911 a copy of Acts (with Deuteronomy and Jonah) which can be securely dated to the first half of the fourth century; and the British and Foreign Bible Society has a copy of St. John's Gospel, probably of the second half of the same century, discovered by Mr. J. L. Starkey when working for one of Sir Flinders Petrie's expeditions in 1923. The Sahidic version is probably somewhat earlier than the Bohairic, but there need not be much interval between them. It was formerly supposed that it leaned rather to the Western type of text, but fuller knowledge has shown that, while it contains some readings which are also

found in Western MSS., it is fundamentally and preponderantly of the same family as  $\aleph$ , B. In Acts less than one-eighth of the characteristically Western readings have Sahidic support. Whether this is due to the version having been made originally from Greek MSS. of mixed Western and Alexandrian type, or that the Sahidic version was originally Western in character and later revised from Greek Neutral MSS., is still to be decided.

The specimen shown in Plate XXX is taken from the MS. of Acts mentioned above, which is the oldest substantial MS. of the Sahidic version. It is a papyrus codex, and a note at the end is written in a common non-literary hand of about the middle of the fourth century. The MS. itself, therefore, is not later than that date. The page reproduced contains Acts viii. 34-ix. 3. Verse 37 (the eunuch's declaration of faith) is omitted, as it is by  $\aleph$ , A, B, C, etc.

(b) *The Bohairic or Memphitic version* (*Memph.* in Variorum Bible) was the version current in Lower (i.e. northern) Egypt, of which the principal native town was Memphis. Originally, however, the dialect in which it is written belonged only to the coast district near Alexandria, and another dialect was in use in Memphis itself; hence it is better to avoid the term Memphitic, and use the more strictly accurate name *Bohairic* (from Bohairah, the Arabic name of Lower Egypt). This was the most developed and most literary dialect of the Egyptian language, and ultimately spread up the country and superseded all the other dialects. The consequence of this is that the Bohairic is the Coptic of today, so far as the language still exists, and that in the Bohairic dialect alone was the complete New Testament known before the discoveries of the last generation. All the other Coptic versions existed in fragments only.

The Bohairic version was first made known by some Oxford scholars at the end of the seventeenth century, and the first printed edition of it was published at Oxford by Wilkins in 1716. Neither in this nor in any subsequent edition was sufficient use made of the manuscripts available for comparison, until the production by the Rev. G. Horner of a full critical edition in 1898-1905. Over a hundred manuscripts exist and have been examined, and of these Horner used forty-six in the Gospels and thirty-four in the other books. None of them is very early. The oldest and best is a MS. of the Gospels at Oxford, which is dated A.D. 1173-4; there is one at Paris dated 1178-80; there is another, the British Museum, of the year 1192; others are of the thirteenth and later

centuries. There is indeed a single leaf of the Epistle to the Ephesians which may be as early as the fifth century (in the British Museum), but this exception is too small to be important. The Apocalypse was not originally included in this version, and we know that in the third century its authenticity was questioned in Egypt. The translation is generally good and careful, so that it is easy to see what was the Greek which the translator had before him in any particular passage. The text, too, is of an excellent type. Excluding passages which appear only in the later MSS., and which evidently were not in the original version, the Bohairic text is mainly of a Neutral or Alexandrian type, with not much mixture of Western readings, and little or nothing of Syrian. The doubt about the last twelve verses of St. Mark appears in the best MS., which gives the shorter alternative ending (as in L, see p. 214) in the margin. Otherwise all the Bohairic MSS. have the usual verses 9-20. The passage John vii. 53-viii. 11 is omitted by all the best MSS. In Acts also the Bohairic text is definitely Alexandrian. The date of the version is possibly in the first half of the third century, more probably somewhat later, but not so late as the sixth or seventh century as has been suggested by some scholars, including Burkitt.

The remaining Coptic versions may be dismissed very briefly. They are known as yet only in a few fragments, and their characteristics cannot yet be said to be established. Hence they have not yet made their appearance in critical editions of the New Testament, and may for the present be disregarded. They are (*c*) the *Fayumic*, or version current in the district of the Fayum, west of the Nile and south of the Delta, from which an enormous number of Greek and Coptic papyri have reached Europe in recent years. It appears to be related to the Sahidic, being probably descended from an early form of the same version. (*d*) The *Middle Egyptian*, found in manuscripts from the region of Memphis, related, like the Fayumic, to the Sahidic. (*e*) The *Akhmimic*, found in a number of fragments from the neighbourhood of Akhmim, the ancient Panopolis, from which also came the manuscript containing the extraordinarily interesting portions of the apocryphal Gospel and Revelation of Peter which were published in 1892. This is said to be the earliest dialect of the Coptic language, but at present only fragments of the New Testament have been published, the first to appear being the discovery of Mr. W. E. Crum. Sir Herbert Thompson in 1921 published a late fourth- or fifth-century papyrus of the Fourth Gospel in the sub-Akhmimic dialect, which differing

to some extent from the Sahidic and Bohairic, has like them a good Alexandrian text. Much work still needs to be done on these versions, especially on the question of their relationship to each other—whether, that is, they derive from a single early version or go back to independent translations which may, nevertheless, have influenced each other.

The *Armenian* version, as we have it now, dates from the fifth century. Armenia is a country lying to the east of Asia Minor and north of Mesopotamia, sandwiched between the Roman and Persian empires, and was evangelized in the third century by Syriac-speaking missionaries. However, it was not until much later that it possessed a version of its own, and Armenian traditions themselves differ as to whether this version was translated from Syriac or Greek. Modern scholars will be found on either side. The Syriac origin would be supported by the obvious Syriacisms in the translation, and by the fact that the Armenian New Testament included the apocryphal Third Epistle to the Corinthians and omitted Philemon, as did also the fourth-century Syrian Canon. On the other hand, strong affinities between the Armenian and the Greek make the other view at least feasible, and the Syriacisms have been explained as due, partly to unconscious reminiscences, partly to the use of the Syriac version as a kind of 'crib'. A third view, which makes use of a suggestion thrown out by the veteran Armenian scholar F. C. Conybeare, is that an Armenian Diatessaron, based on Tatian's Syriac harmony, preceded the translation from Greek and has influenced it. Which-ever view is finally accepted, however, is not so important as the fact that behind the Armenian lies a form of text, partly Alexandrian, partly Western, which is now identified as Cæsarean in the Gospels. A similar mixture apparently obtains in the Acts and Pauline Epistles, while the Catholic Epistles are Alexandrian. The version of the Apocalypse was shown by Conybeare to have a remarkable history, and whether or not he was right in thinking that the translation was made, in view of some unexpected affinities, from the Old Latin, it is a valuable witness to the text. Most of the oldest MSS. of the Gospels in this version omit the last twelve verses of St. Mark; but one of them, written in the year 989, contains them, with a heading stating that they are "of the Elder Ariston".<sup>1</sup> This has been taken to mean Aristion, who lived in the first century, and is mentioned by Papias, his younger

<sup>1</sup> The credit of this discovery belongs to the late F. C. Conybeare, of University College, Oxford.

contemporary, as having been a disciple of the Lord. If the tradition which assigns to him the authorship of Mark xvi. 9-20 could be accepted, it would clear up the doubts surrounding that passage in a satisfactory way. It would show that St. Mark's Gospel was left unfinished, or was mutilated at a very early date, and that a summary of the events following the Resurrection, written by Aristion, was inserted to fill the gap; and we gain the evidence of another witness of our Lord's life on earth. There is, however, no confirmation of this story. The earliest MS. of the Armenian Gospels is dated in the year 887; there are probably two others of the ninth century and six of the tenth. The rest of the New Testament is only found in copies containing the whole Bible, which are rare and never older than the twelfth century.

The *Georgian* version is closely related to the Armenian, and indeed is almost certainly translated directly from it. R. P. Blake in America edited Matthew and Mark from the Adyson MS. (dated 897) and two others, from which it is clear that the Greek text lying behind belongs to the Cæsarean group, related to Θ, 565, 700, families 1 and 13. It is in fact an important witness for the reconstitution of the Cæsarean text.

The *Gothic* version, as has already been stated (p. 138), was made for the Goths in the fourth century, while they were settled in Mœsia, before they overran Western Europe. It was made by their Bishop Ulfilas, and was translated directly from the Greek. We know it now only in fragments, more than half of the Gospels being preserved in a magnificent manuscript at Upsala, in Sweden, written (in the fifth or sixth century) in letters of gold and silver upon purple vellum. Some portions of the Epistles of St. Paul are preserved in palimpsest fragments at Milan; but the Acts, Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse are entirely lost. The Greek text used by Ulfilas seems to have been mainly of the Byzantine type in the New Testament, though with some Western readings of the Old Latin type which are perhaps due to the contacts of the Goths with Roman (i.e. Latin) Christianity in Italy and Spain.

The *Ethiopic* version belongs to the country of Abyssinia, and was probably made about the year 600; but most of the existing manuscripts (of which there are over a hundred) are as late as the seventeenth century, only a few going back as early as the fifteenth, the oldest of all (at Paris) being of the thirteenth century. In spite of the late date of this MS., the version deserves greater attention than it has so far received. See Plate XXXI.

Several *Arabic* versions are known to exist, some being translations from the Greek, some from Syriac, and some from Coptic, while others are revisions based upon some or all of these. None is earlier than the seventh century, perhaps none so early; and for critical purposes none is of any value.

Other Oriental versions (Slavonic, Persian) are of still later date, and may be ignored.

## §2. THE WESTERN VERSIONS

We now pass to the Western world, and trace the history of the New Testament as it spread from its obscure home in Palestine to the great capital of the world, and to the countries in its neighbourhood which owned its sway and spoke its language. In speaking of the Latin Bible we are at once taking a great step nearer home; for Latin was the literary language of our own forefathers, it was in Latin that the Bible first reached our land, and the Latin Bible was for centuries the official Bible of our country. Nay, more, it was from the Latin Bible that the first English Bibles were translated. Therefore we have a special interest in the history of this version, an interest which is still further increased by the remarkable character which it possessed in its earlier stages, and by the minuteness with which we are able to trace its fortunes in later days. We have already described the Latin versions in relation to the Old Testament; we have now to speak of them in relation to the New.

In the Old Testament we have seen that there are two Latin versions, known as the Old Latin and the Vulgate; and we have seen that of these the Vulgate is the more important as an aid to the recovery of the original Hebrew text, because it was translated directly from the Hebrew, while the Old Latin was translated from the Septuagint; and also because the Vulgate is complete, while the Old Latin has come down to us only in fragments. In respect of the New Testament the relative importance of the two is somewhat different. Here we possess both versions practically complete: and whereas the Old Latin was translated direct from the original Greek, the Vulgate was only a revision of the Old Latin. Moreover, we possess a few manuscripts of the original Greek which are as early as the Vulgate; but the Old Latin was made long before all but a few of our manuscripts were written, and takes us back to within a generation or two of the time at which the sacred books were themselves composed.

The *Old Latin* version is consequently one of the most valuable and interesting evidences which we possess for the condition of the New Testament text in the earliest times. It exists, however, in a variety of forms, and its precise history is obscure. The conclusions at which Hort arrived were as follows. It has already been said (p. 140) that it was originally made in the second century, perhaps not very far from A.D. 150, and probably, though not certainly, in Africa. Another version, apparently independent, subsequently appeared in Europe; and the divergences between these rival translations, as well as the extensive variations of text which found their way into both, made a revision necessary, which was actually produced in Italy in the fourth century, and to which Augustine refers as superior to its competitors. Hence it is that three different families or groups can be traced – the *African*, the *European* and the *Italian*. We are able to identify these several families by means of the quotations which occur in the writings of the Latin Fathers. Thus the quotations of Cyprian, who died in 258, give us a representation of the African text; the European text is found in the Latin version of the works of Irenæus, which was probably made at the end of the second century, or very shortly afterwards; while the Italian text appears conspicuously in Augustine (A.D. 354–430). By the help of such evidence as this we can identify the texts which are found in the various manuscripts of the Old Latin which have come down to us.

This distinction into three families, though accepted by Wordsworth and White, the editors of the Vulgate, has not been universally approved. Bentley in the past and Burkitt in our own day disputed the existence of the Italian revision, the latter arguing with much force that Augustine's 'Italian' text was in fact Jerome's Vulgate, which he certainly used in his longer quotations from the Gospels (such as would not be made from memory) after c. A.D. 400. Moreover, by no means all scholars would agree that the different forms of the Old Latin imply different versions. It is true that, as was said above, there are striking divergences. But there are also striking similarities, such as the order in Luke ix. 62, "no one looking back and putting his hand to the plough", which equally imply a single origin. Again we are not to suppose that the whole of the New Testament was translated at any one time; but at various times somewhat unliterary versions of the different books were made, which were subject to haphazard revision and improvement at different times and in different localities. What is certain is that a distinction can be drawn



between an extremest and a less extreme form of the Old Latin, and that the former is found in authorities connected with Africa (such as the manuscript mentioned below as *k*, and the quotations in Cyprian), and the latter in authorities connected with Europe (such as *a* and *b*). But the manuscripts differ very much among themselves (as Jerome complained), and probably no coherent history can be made of them. Even the terms 'African' and 'European' must not be pressed too closely, since the early Spanish text has many African characteristics, and it is very likely that Spain in the first instance derived its Bible from Africa. The rule that, textually speaking, every book must be treated on its own merits, applies especially to the Old Latin.

Owing to the fact that the Vulgate eventually superseded the Old Latin as the Bible of the Western Church, manuscripts of the latter are scarce, but when they exist are generally very old. No copy contains the whole of the New Testament, and very few are perfect even in the books which they contain. Apart from fragments there are about twenty MSS. containing the Gospels, five containing Acts, six the Catholic Epistles, six of the Paulines, and two of the Apocalypse, of which practically a complete text is also preserved to us in a commentary of Primasius, an African Father of the sixth century. Manuscripts of the Old Latin are indicated in critical editions by the small italic letters of the alphabet. One of the oldest and best is the CODEX VERCELLENSIS (*a*), of which a facsimile is given in Plate XXXII. It contains the four Gospels, in the order usual in the Western Church—namely, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. It is written in silver letters, in very narrow columns, on extremely thin vellum stained with purple. The passage shown in the plate is John xvi. 23–30. In verse 26 this MS. has a curious reading, due to an accidental omission of words: instead of "Ye shall ask in my name; and I say not unto you, that I will pray the Father for you", it has "ask in my name, and I will pray for you". The passage may be seen at the top of the second column: "in nomine meo petite et ego rogabo propter vos", the words "et ego" being added above the line. This manuscript was said to have been written by Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli (d. 371), and is consequently as old as the oldest Greek uncials of the Bible. It is now at Vercelli in Italy.

Other important MSS. of the Old Latin are, for the Gospels, the CODEX VERONENSIS (*b*), of the fourth or fifth century, one of the most valuable of all; CODEX COLBERTINUS (*c*), an extraordinarily late copy, having been written in the twelfth century, in Langue-

doc, where the tradition of the Old Latin text lingered very late, but containing a good text; CODEX PALATINUS (*e*), fourth or fifth century, very incomplete, containing a distinctly African type of text; CODEX BRIXIANUS (*f*), sixth century, probably representing the Latin side of a bilingual Gothic codex; CODEX BOBIENSIS (*k*), fifth or sixth century, containing the last half of Mark and the first half of Matthew in a very early form of the African text practically identical with that used by Cyprian; the Latin text of the CODEX BEZÆ (*d*), for which see p. 208. In the Acts, there are CODEX BEZÆ (*d*), as before; the Latin text of the CODEX LAUDIANUS (*e*), see p. 213 and Plate XXXIII; CODEX GIGAS (*g*) of the thirteenth century, the largest manuscript in the world, containing the Acts and Apocalypse in the Old Latin version, the rest in the Vulgate; and some palimpsest fragments, FLORIACENSIS (*h*) and Bobiensis (*s*) of the fifth or sixth century. In the later parts of the New Testament Jerome seems to have revised the Old Latin very sketchily, if at all, so that it is not easy to draw the line between Old Latin and Vulgate, but CODEX CORBEIENSIS (*ff*) of St. James, and *h* as above, are usually reckoned Old Latin, together with portions of the other epistles in fragmentary MSS. The Pauline Epistles are known in the Latin side of CODEX CLAROMONTANUS (*d*<sub>2</sub> or *d*<sub>3</sub>) for which see p. 212; *e*, *f*, *g* being the Latin sides of the bilingual codices SANGERMANENSIS, AUGIENSIS and BOERNERIANUS; and the fragments of the sixth-century CODEX GUELFERBYTANUS at Wolfenbüttel (*gue*), and of FREISINGENSIS (*r*) with which Augustine is frequently in agreement. The Apocalypse exists in *f*, and in *h* of Acts. The pseudo-Augustinian Speculum (*m*) is cited as though a manuscript; in fact it is a collection of Scripture texts arranged topically, and by no means uniform, since it appears to be based partly on quotations taken from patristic works. In the Catholic Epistles, however, it agrees closely with Priscillian, the Spanish heretic, and is important for the Apocalypse. To it may be added another Spanish source, the LIBER COMICUS (*t*), a lectionary from Toledo which contains Old Latin readings. It must be remembered, however, that these MSS. are supplemented by the quotations in Latin Fathers, which are very numerous, and which show what sort of text each of them had before him when he wrote.

It may be interesting to mention which manuscripts represent the various families of the Old Latin text. The African text is found in *k* and (in a somewhat later form) *e* of the Gospels, *h* of the Acts, Catholic Epistles (parts) and Apocalypse, in Primasius on the Apocalypse, and in Cyprian generally. The remaining

MSS. have, on the whole, European texts (*b* being an especially good example), but many of them are mixed and indeterminate in character, and some have been modified by the incorporation of readings from the Vulgate.

Sabatier's monumental edition of the Old Latin evidence, together with the forthcoming Beuron and British and Foreign Bible Society editions have been mentioned above (pp. 139-40) in connexion with the Old Testament. A. Jülicher published the Old Latin text of Matthew (1938), Mark (1940) and Luke (1954), in which the manuscript evidence is cited for the African and Italian forms of the version, but unfortunately he makes no use of patristic citations.

It has been said above (p. 170) that the Old Latin version testifies to a type of Greek text of the class which has been described as 'Western'. This applies especially to the African group of the Old Latin, which is often found in alliance with Codex Bezae. The European MSS. have less strongly marked divergences from the ordinary text, and may perhaps have been affected by comparison with Greek MSS. The earlier forms of the Old Latin, however, are distinctly Western, as has been shown in describing the peculiar readings of this class of text; and since the original translation into Latin may have been made in the second century, it shows how soon considerable divergences had been introduced into the text of the New Testament. It is, indeed, especially in the earliest period of the history of the text that such interpolations as those we have mentioned can be introduced. At that time the books of the New Testament had not come to be regarded as on a level with those of the Old. They were precious as a narrative of all-important facts; but there was no sense of obligation to keep their language free from all change, and additions or alterations might be made without much scruple. Hence arose the class of manuscripts of which the Old Latin version is one of the most important representatives.

*The Vulgate.* The history of this version has already been narrated in connexion with the Old Testament. It was in the year 382 that Pope Damasus entrusted Jerome with the task of producing an authoritative revision of the Latin Bible which should supersede the innumerable conflicting copies then in existence. A settled version of the Gospels was naturally regarded as the prime need, and this was the first part of the work to be undertaken. Jerome began cautiously. A wholly new version of the familiar text would have provoked much opposition, and

Jerome consequently contented himself, as Damasus had intended, with merely revising the existing Old Latin translation. He compared it with some ancient Greek manuscripts, and only made alterations where they were absolutely necessary to secure the true sense of a passage. Minor corrections, though in themselves certain, he refrained from introducing, in order that the total change might be as little as possible. The Gospels were completed in 384, and the rest of the New Testament, revised after the same manner, but still more slightly, appeared later (the exact date is not known). The Old Testament, which, as we have seen, was an altogether new translation from the Hebrew, was not finished until twenty years after this date.

The New Testament was consequently a distinct work from the Old, and was made on a different principle. It was based on the 'European' type of the Old Latin, and this, as we have seen, appears to be derived from a revision of the primitive 'African' text (which was largely Western in character) made on the basis of Greek texts of an Alexandrian type, though not necessarily of the purest kind. Jerome's revision, which was based on good MSS. of a Neutral (or, as it seems preferable to call it, Alexandrian) character, removed many defective readings, but still left the Vulgate a mixed text. Its evidence is, consequently, of less value than that of the earlier versions; but it must be remembered that all the authorities used by Jerome in the production of the Vulgate must have been as old as, or older than, the oldest manuscripts which we now possess.

Manuscripts of the Vulgate are countless. There is no great library in Western Europe which does not possess them by scores and by hundreds. After existing side by side with the Old Latin version for some centuries it became universally adopted as the Bible of Western Christendom, and was copied repeatedly in every monastery and school until the invention of printing. Hence when we come now to try to recover the original text of the Vulgate, we are confronted with a task at least as hard as that of recovering the original text of the Greek Bible itself. It is believed that over 8,000 manuscripts exist in Europe, and the majority of these have never been fully examined.<sup>1</sup> It is only known that the text has been very considerably corrupted, partly by intermixture with the Old Latin version during the time when both translations were simultaneously in use, partly by the natural accidents

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Gregory (1909) gives a list amounting to 2,472, but his enumeration does not pretend to be anything like exhaustive.

attending the text of any book which has been repeatedly copied. We shall see in the next chapter what attempts were made to correct it during the Middle Ages. Our great English scholar Richard Bentley examined and caused to be examined a considerable number of manuscripts, but never advanced so far as to form a revised text of any part of the Bible. At last, about 1877, the work was undertaken at Oxford, being planned by John Wordsworth, with whom, on his appointment to be bishop of Salisbury in 1885, was associated H. J. White, afterwards dean of Christ Church. The Gospels appeared in 1889-98 and Acts in 1905. Bishop Wordsworth died in 1911, but White carried on the work as far as Ephesians before his death in 1934. The rest of the Pauline Epistles and Hebrews have since appeared under the editorship of Dr. H. F. D. Sparks of Oxford, thereby completing Volume II in 1941. The Catholic Epistles, edited by Sparks and A. W. Adams, came out in 1949, the Apocalypse, edited by Sparks, in 1951, and these, together with Acts, form Volume III, thus bringing the great enterprise to a close after more than sixty years. Meanwhile, very serviceable pocket editions have been produced by White (1911), whose text is also published by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and by Nestle (1906; twentieth edition 1950), the former giving the revised text of the large Oxford edition, and the latter the official Clementine text, both with brief critical apparatus.

The best manuscript of the Vulgate is the *CODEx AMIATINUS*, of which a reduced facsimile, showing the lower half of the page, is given in Plate XXXIV. This has a special interest for Englishmen, apart from the value of the text contained in it, as having been produced in England at the beginning of the eighth century. Its English origin was only discovered about seventy years ago, and in a curious way. On its second page is an inscription stating that it was presented to the abbey of Monte Amiata by Peter of Lombardy, and it was always supposed to have been written in Italy. But Peter's name was obviously written over an erasure, and, besides, spoilt the metre of the verses in which the inscription is composed. Still, the truth was never suspected until a brilliant conjecture by the Italian, G. B. de Rossi, confirmed by a further discovery by Prof. Hort, showed that the original name was not Peter of Lombardy, but Ceolfrid of England. Then the whole history of the MS. was made clear. It was written either at Wearmouth or at Jarrow, famous schools in the north of England in the seventh and eighth centuries (having probably been copied

from MSS. brought from Italy by Ceolfrid), and was taken by Abbot Ceolfrid as a present to Pope Gregory II in the year 716. It was used in the revision of the Vulgate by Pope Sixtus V in 1585-90, and its present home is in the great Laurentian Library at Florence. It is a huge volume, each leaf measuring  $19\frac{1}{2}$  by  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches, written in large and beautifully clear letters. The passage shown in the plate is Luke iv. 32-v. 6. An example of a correction may be seen in column 2, thirteen lines from the bottom, where the singular imperative "laxa" has been altered by a corrector to the plural "laxate", which corresponds more exactly with the original Greek. The text is carefully and accurately written and it is taken by Wordsworth and White as their first and most important authority.

An interesting addition has since been made to its history. It is recorded by Bede that Ceolfrid had two other copies of the Bible made, besides that which he took as a gift to the Pope. In 1909 a single leaf, in writing closely resembling that of the Amiatinus, was discovered by the Rev. W. Greenwell in a curiosity shop in Newcastle, and subsequently eleven more leaves, which had been utilized to form the covers of estate accounts in the north of England, were (largely through the agency of Viscount Wakefield and the Friends of the National Libraries) secured for the nation. All twelve leaves, which include parts of 1 and 2 Kings, and unquestionably form part of one of the sister codices of the Amiatinus, are now in the British Museum, where they are a monument of the time when, under the leadership of Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrid, and especially Bede, the north of England led the Western world in scholarship.

Among the other most important MSS. of the Vulgate are the CODEX FULDENSIS, written A.D. 541-6 for Bishop Victor of Capua, containing the whole New Testament (together with the apocryphal Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans), the Gospels being arranged in a consecutive narrative, based on the Diatessaron of Tatian (see above, p. 221); CODEX CAVENSIS (ninth century), written in Spain, and with a Spanish type of text; CODEX TOLERANUS (eighth century), very similar to the Cavensis; the LINDISFARNE GOSPELS (about A.D. 690), a splendid north English copy, resembling the Codex Amiatinus in text, described more fully on pp. 255-6; the HARLEIAN GOSPELS (sixth or seventh century), in the British Museum; the STONYHURST GOSPELS (seventh century), formerly at Durham, now at Stonyhurst, written in a beautiful little uncial hand and said to have belonged to St. Cuthbert;

CODEx DUNELMENSIS (seventh or eighth century), traditionally written by the Venerable Bede; and the manuscripts exhibiting the revision by Alcuin, described in the following chapter.

Wordsworth and White classify them into the following groups: (1) Northumbrian, headed by the Amiatinus, with Dunelmensis and the Lindisfarne and Stonyhurst Gospels, which they regard as the best, and which Dom Chapman would trace back to the edition prepared by Cassiodorus in the sixth century; (2) a less good group headed by the Harleian Gospels, regarded by C. H. Turner as representing non-Cassiodorian texts from Italy; (3) an Irish group, headed by the Book of Armagh (eighth or ninth century), with Codex Lichfeldensis (the Chad Gospels with Anglo-Irish illumination, seventh or eighth century, see Frontispiece); (4) a group, of which the seventh-century Codex Oxoniensis in the Bodleian is the chief representative, intermediate between groups 2 and 3; (5) a Spanish group, headed by the Cavensis and Toletanus; and (6) texts representing the revisions of Alcuin and Theodulf, to be described in the next chapter.

### §3. SUMMARY

Such, then, is the list of the witnesses on whom, together with the quotations in the Fathers, we have to depend for the establishment of the best attainable text of the New Testament. It will have been seen that the picture presented by Westcott and Hort in 1881, though in the main holding its ground, has undergone certain modifications as the result of the discoveries since that date. It would be rash to claim that finality has yet been reached; but at each stage of the journey it is useful to sum up the results which *appear* to have been reached, if only to serve as a basis for further examination, or as an hypothesis by which future discoveries may be tested.

The classification now suggested is as follows:

(α) *Byzantine*, a title which seems preferable to Hort's 'Syrian', as avoiding confusion with 'Syriac' and as more descriptive of the text which came to be generally adopted in the Byzantine Church. This is the text found in the vast majority of later MSS., which from them passed into the earliest printed texts, and which was the universally 'received text', until it was challenged by modern scholarship and by the results of modern discoveries. Its characteristic features are verbal revision in the direction of smoothness, intelligibility, ease of comprehension, concordance

between different narratives of the same event. It seems to be the result of a long-continued process of minor revision in the interests of the ordinary reader. The earliest traces of it appear in the quotations of Chrysostom, who worked at Antioch until 398 and then at Constantinople until 407, and it seems to have established itself in the Metropolitan Church in the course of the next centuries, until by the eighth it is found in practically complete possession of the Greek world. The oldest and most important MSS. which show readings of this type are A and E in the Gospels, and the purple MSS. N, O, Σ, Φ; after these follow the great mass of later uncials and minuscules. It can now, however, generally be discarded when it comes into competition with the earlier families.

(β) *Alexandrian*, substantially identical with Hort's 'Neutral'. The latter title is better avoided, since it now appears that this type of text cannot claim an uncontaminated descent from the originals, but is rather the result of skilled editorial handling of good materials; also that it is not a text universally current in Egypt (though that is its main home), but is rather the product of a well-equipped scriptorium in a particular place, which can hardly be other than Alexandria. To this family belong in the first line the great uncials B and 8, often supported by C and (outside the Gospels) A, the Coptic versions, both Sahidic and Bohairic, together with L, R (in Luke), T, Z, Δ (in Mark), Ξ, Ψ and the minuscules 33 and 579 in the Gospels; Ψ, 33, 81 and P<sup>8</sup>, P<sup>45</sup> in Acts; and I, P<sub>2</sub>, Ψ, P<sup>13</sup>, P<sup>48</sup> in the Epistles. Of the Fathers, Origen is the one who most often has readings of this type.

(γ) *Cæsarean*. The discovery of this family of text has been described above (p. 177). So far, its character has only been established in Mark, the Gospel which (being the shortest and containing the least of our Lord's teaching) appears to have had the least circulation in the early Church, and so escaped revision and corruption. Here it is found in the Codex Koridethianus (Θ), which Streeter placed first, together with the groups of minuscules known as Family 1 and Family 13, and also 28, 565, 700. To these may be added W (after Mark v. 30) and the Chester Beatty P<sup>45</sup> and also the Armenian and Georgian versions. It clearly established itself at Cæsarea, but there is evidence, especially in P<sup>45</sup>, of its circulation in Egypt, and that may well be its original home. On the other hand, the fact that it made its influence felt as far away as Armenia and Georgia shows that it was more than a strictly local text, and indeed it is doubtful whether it can properly



be regarded as a 'text' or group in its own right at all, but rather is a process of compromise between Western and Alexandrian types of text. It has also still to be shown whether or not it existed outside the Gospels, and most scholars have now abandoned Streeter's hope that in the 'Cæsarean text' we have an early independent authority which can stand beside the Alexandrian and Western groupings.

(δ) *Western*. As stated above, it was formerly the custom to label as 'Western' any reading which was earlier than 'Syrian', but was not found in the 'Neutral' authorities. In this way it was argued that the Western text was in early times prevalent, not only in the West, but also in Syria and even in Egypt; that it was in fact the original form of text, from which the Neutral was derived by drastic editorial revision. But the growth of evidence and investigation has shown that in this sense no such thing as a Western text exists at all. The Syriac and Egyptian variants from the Neutral or Alexandrian text do not by any means always or generally coincide with those of the Latin authorities; and it is not possible to trace them to a common source, or reconstruct a Western text on these lines at all. On the other hand, if it is once recognized that it is not necessary to group in a single family all readings with early attestation which do not belong to the Alexandrian family, it is easy to segregate one group of these which have a common character, and whose attestation is definitely Western. This is the type of text found in Codex Bezae and the other Græco-Latin uncials D<sub>2</sub>, E<sub>3</sub>, F<sub>2</sub>, G<sub>3</sub>, the African form of the Old Latin version, especially in the MSS. *k* and *ε*, and the quotations in Cyprian, Priscillian, Tyconius and Primasius. In other words the term 'Western' is now used in a more specifically geographical sense, though even so there is considerable diversity within the grouping. It is a type marked by striking variations from all other groupings, especially in the Gospels and Acts. In the Acts especially it abounds with variants which some have thought superior to the Alexandrian and Byzantine texts, and which, if not original, must be due to deliberate alterations by someone who regarded himself as having authoritative information. Specimens of these variants will be found in Appendix I.

(ε) *Eastern*. It seems necessary to separate the Old Syriac version from the Western family with which it was formerly associated. It is in fact nearer akin to the Alexandrian type, though independent of it; and such infusion of Western readings as it has may well be attributed to the influence of Tatian's

Diatessaron. It may therefore be regarded rather as the local text of the Church of Edessa, influenced at first by the Western text imported by Tatian from Rome, and eventually revised under Byzantine influences by Rabbula into the form of the Peshitta, which became the authorized Bible of the Syrian Church.

When, however, all these families have been marked off and labelled, it must be recognized that they have not exhausted the early history of the New Testament text. No one of these families can be taken as containing the whole authentic truth; all reach back to a period of uncertainty out of which they gradually emerged; and they do not all between them cover the whole of the material. In addition to the readings which can be attributed with some certainty to one or the other family, and when, by the application of the principles and methods laid down by Westcott and Hort, the great majority of errors and corruptions have been cleared away there is a residue of unassigned readings, relics of a time when there was much variation among the texts of the sacred books (especially the Gospels) circulating among the widely scattered Christian communities, out of which the families or types which we have now learned to discern were gradually formed. If this be so, we must recognize that absolute certainty in details is unattainable; that even if the Alexandrian type (or the Western or Cæsarean, if anyone prefers it) is generally superior, it cannot always be right, and we must be prepared to consider alternative readings on their merits. We must be content to know that the general authenticity of the New Testament text has been remarkably supported by the modern discoveries which have so greatly reduced the interval between the original autographs and our earliest extant manuscripts, and that the differences of reading, interesting as they are, do not affect the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE VULGATE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

In the preceding chapters the attempt has been made to narrate the history of the Greek text of the New Testament. It is the history of the text of the New Testament in its original tongue, to which all translations into other languages must look back, and on which our knowledge of the life and teaching of our Lord and his disciples ultimately rests. But it by no means completes the story of the way in which the Bible reached our people. In the chapters that follow we have to explain how the Bible circulated in what was at first the western portion of the Roman Empire, and then was the western portion of Europe as transformed by the irruption of barbarians from the East; how it reached our distant corner of this European world; how it was translated into English and won its way into the heart of our English people; and how it has been retranslated in our own day in the light of the discoveries of new material and new evidence which we have been describing. So we shall link in one continuous chain the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures with the Bible which we read in our churches and homes today.

#### *Importance of the Vulgate*

The history of the Bible in Western Europe is for a thousand years the history of the Vulgate, and of the Vulgate alone. In the East the Scriptures circulated in Greek, in Syriac, in Coptic, in Armenian, in Georgian, in Ethiopic, in Arabic, in Persian. In the West, Latin was the only language of literature. The Latin language was carried by the Roman legionaries into Africa, into Gaul, into Spain, into parts of Germany, and even to distant Britain; and wherever the Latin language went, thither, after the conversion of the Empire to Christianity, went the Latin Bible. Throughout the period which we know as the Middle Ages, which may roughly be defined as from A.D. 500 to 1500, almost all books were written in Latin. Latin was the language in which different nations communicated with one another. Latin was the language of the monasteries; and the monasteries were the chief centres of the learning which existed during those centuries. An educated man, speaking Latin, was a member of a society which included

all educated men in Western Europe, and might be equally at home in Italy, in Gaul and in Britain. We shall see in the next chapter that translations of parts of the Bible into English existed from a very early time; but these were themselves translations from the Latin Bible, and for every copy of the Bible in English there were scores, or even hundreds, in Latin. The same was the case on the Continent. Translations were made, in course of time, into French, Italian and other languages; but the originals of these translations were always Latin Bibles. Every monastery had many copies; and the relics of these, the remnant which escaped from the vast destructions of the Reformation and all the other chances of time, fill our museums and libraries today. To the Latin Bible we owe our Christianity in England; and in tracing its fortunes during the Middle Ages we are but supplying the link between the early narrative of the spread of the Bible throughout Europe and its special history in our own islands.

*Simultaneous Use of Old Latin and Vulgate*

We have said that the form in which the Bible was first made known to the Latin-speaking people of the West was that of the Old Latin version. The African form of this version spread along the Roman provinces which occupied the north of the continent in which it was produced; the European variety of it was propagated on the north side of the Mediterranean, and the two streams met in Spain. But these different editions, if indeed they ever amounted to distinct editions, did not remain distinct long. They were so intermingled that nearly every MS. represents some different combination of influences. Then came the Vulgate, the revised Latin Bible of St. Jerome. Undertaken though it was at the express request of the Pope, it yet did not win immediate acceptance. Even so great an authority as St. Augustine objected to the extensive departures from the current version which Jerome had made in his Old Testament. For some centuries the Vulgate and the Old Latin existed side by side. Complete Bibles were then rare. More commonly, a volume would contain only one group of books, such as the Pentateuch or the Prophets, the Gospels or the Pauline Epistles; and it would very easily happen that the library of any one individual would have some of these groups according to the older version and others according to the Vulgate. Moreover, in many Vulgate MSS. are to be found the Priscillianist Gospel Prologues, the Donatist chapter headings to Acts, and the Marcionite Prologues to the Pauline Epistles—all of these not only

pre-Jerome, but heretical or schismatic in origin. Hence we find Christian writers, even as late as the eighth century, using sometimes one version and sometimes the other;<sup>1</sup> and when complete copies of the Bible came to be written, some books might be copied from manuscripts of the one type and others from those of the other. Special familiarity with particular books was a strong bar to the acceptance of the new text. Thus the Gospels continued to circulate in the Old Latin much later than the Prophets, and the old version of the Psalms was never superseded by Jerome's translation at all, but continues to this day to hold its place in the received Bible of the Roman Church.

### *Consequent Mixture of Texts*

One unfortunate result followed from this long period of simultaneous existence of two different texts—namely, the intermixture of readings from one with those of the other. Scribes engaged in copying the Vulgate would, from sheer familiarity with the older version, write down its words instead of those of St. Jerome; and on the other hand a copyist of the Old Latin would introduce into its text some of the improvements of the Vulgate; or again, an Old Latin MS. might have its more considerable variants 'corrected' by the insertion of Vulgate readings. When it is remembered that this was in days when every copy had to be written by hand, when the variations of one manuscript were perpetuated and increased in all those which were copied from it, it will be easier to understand the confusion which was thus introduced into both versions of the Bible text. It is as though every copy of our Revised Version were written by hand, and the copyists were to substitute, especially in the best-known books, such as the Gospels, the more familiar words of the Authorized Version. Very soon no two copies of the Bible would remain alike, and the confusion would only be magnified as time went on.

So it was with the Latin Bible in the Middle Ages. The fifth and sixth centuries are the period during which the old and new versions existed side by side. In Italy the final acceptance of the Vulgate was largely due to Gregory the Great (590–604). In Gaul, in the sixth century, certain books, especially the Prophets, were habitually known in Jerome's translation; the rest were still current mainly in the old version. In the seventh century the victory of the Vulgate was general. But it was a sadly mutilated

<sup>1</sup> Old Latin quotations are found in Aldhelm (late seventh century) and Bede and even in Ælfric and Dunstan in the tenth.

and corrupted Vulgate which emerged thus victorious from the struggle; and the rest of the Middle Ages is the history of successive attempts to revise and reform it, and of successive decadences after each revision, until the invention of printing made it possible to fix and maintain a uniform text in all copies of the Bible.

*The Vulgate in Spain and Ireland*

The truest text of the Vulgate was no doubt preserved in Italy. The worst was unquestionably in Gaul, which we may now begin to call France. But two countries, situated at different extremes of Western Christendom, preserved somewhat distinct types of text, which eventually had considerable influence upon the history of the Vulgate. These were Spain and Ireland. Each was, for a considerable period, cut off from communication with the main body of Christendom: Spain, by the Moorish invasion, which for a time confined the Christian Visigoths to the north-western corner of the peninsula; Ireland, by the English conquest of Britain, which drove the ancient Celtic Church before it, and interposed a barrier of heathendom between the remains of that Church and its fellow Christians on the Continent. The consequence of this isolation was that each Church preserved a distinct type of the Vulgate text, recognizable by certain special readings in many passages of the Bible. The Spanish Bible was complete, and its text, though of very mixed character, contains some good and early elements; witness the Codex Cavensis and the Codex Toletanus, mentioned on p. 245. The Irish Bible as a rule consists of the Gospels alone, and its text is likewise mixed, containing several remarkable readings; but its outward form and ornamentation had a special character and a peculiar beauty, the connexion of which with the Bibles produced in northern England forms an intriguing problem.

*Anglo-Celtic MSS.*

The seventh century is the most glorious period in the history of the Irish Church. Thanks chiefly to the efforts of St. Patrick, Ireland was not only itself mainly a Christian land, but was sending out missionaries into other countries. One of the most important of these missions was that of Columba, who settled at Iona, off the coast of Mull, and thence evangelized the Picts of Scotland. Here the young prince, Oswald, expelled from Northumbria by the heathen Britons under Penda, took refuge, and hence, on

recovering his kingdom, he summoned missionaries to preach the Gospel in northern England from the centre which he gave them at Lindisfarne. Thus there grew up, under the leadership of Aidan and Cuthbert, a Northumbrian Church in close association with the Church in Ireland. Visible evidence of this community remains in the illuminated copies of the Scriptures which have come down to us from both Ireland and Northumbria. The special feature of this style is its extraordinary intricate system of interlacing patterns, sometimes geometric and sometimes including animal forms, combined and continued with marvellous precision over a whole page throughout the pattern of a huge initial letter. Looked at from a little distance, a page of one of these manuscripts resembles a harmonious mosaic or enamelled pattern in soft and concordant colours. Examine it closely, even with a magnifying glass, and the eye wearies itself in following the intricacy of its pattern, and the hand strives in vain to reproduce its accuracy even for a few inches of its course. The use of gold gives to later illuminations a greater splendour of appearance at first sight; but no other style shows a quarter of the inexhaustible skill and patient devotion which is the glory of the Anglo-Celtic school.

Until recently it has been assumed that this school had its origin in Ireland, and was carried by the Irish missionaries through Scotland into Northumbria. But lately good authorities have argued that the influence was the other way; that it was evolved from continental influences in northern England, and was thence carried back by the Irish to their own land, where it developed certain national characteristics of its own. The one fixed point is the great Lindisfarne Gospels, which, being written in honour of St. Cuthbert (d. 687), cannot be materially later than A.D. 700. This (of which a fuller description is given below) is the finest example of the Anglo-Celtic school, and is certainly of English origin; and there is no MS. of definitely Irish origin which can be assigned to an earlier date. The most notable example of Irish decoration is the famous Book of Kells which is believed to have been produced at Iona; but there is no reason to give it a date earlier than the eighth century. It is more barbaric in colouring than the English school, its reds and yellows contrasting with the soberer lilacs and pale greens of the Lindisfarne book; and its interlacements and figure-drawings are also more extravagant. Splendid as it is in its wealth of ornament, it lacks the restraint and good taste of the English style.

*Texts of English MSS. Derived from Italy*

But whatever be the artistic relationships of the manuscripts of Ireland and North England, there is no doubt as to their textual characters. The Irish text is a considerably contaminated Vulgate, while the English texts are the best Vulgate texts extant. This they owe to their direct descent from Italian MSS. of the best quality. As we have seen (p. 244), the Codex Amiatinus was copied at Wearmouth or Jarrow, shortly before the year 716, from a MS. or MSS. brought over by Benedict Biscop or Ceolfrid, which apparently represents the text of the scholar-statesman Cassiodorus. With regard to the Lindisfarne MS., we have further evidence connecting it with Italy.

*The Lindisfarne Gospels*

It is a copy of the four Gospels, written in a fine and bold uncial hand, with magnificent ornamentation at the beginning of each book. The main text is that of the Latin Vulgate; but between the lines a later hand has written a paraphrase of the Latin into the primitive English which we commonly call Anglo-Saxon. Of this paraphrase more will be said in the next chapter; at present our concern with it lies in the fact that the author of it has added at the end of the volume a history of the manuscript. He tells us that it was written by Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne, in honour of St. Cuthbert, the great saint of Lindisfarne and Northumbria, who died in A.D. 687; that it was covered and "made firm on the outside" by Ethilwald; that Billfrith the anchorite wrought in smith's work the ornaments on its cover; and that he himself, Aldred, "an unworthy and most miserable priest", wrote the English translation between the lines. We know, therefore, that the volume was written shortly after the year 687. Now before each Gospel is placed a list of festivals on which lessons were read from that book; and, strange as it may seem at first sight, it has been shown that these festivals are unquestionably festivals of the Church of Naples. What is still more remarkable, this strange fact can be completely explained. When Theodore of Tarsus was sent by Pope Vitalian to England in 669 to be archbishop of Canterbury, he brought with him, as his companion and adviser, one Hadrian, the abbot of a monastery near Naples. Theodore visited the whole of England, including Northumbria; and there can be no reasonable doubt that these tables of lessons were copied from a manuscript which Abbot Hadrian had brought with him from Italy. The text itself may have been copied from the



same manuscript, or from one of those brought over by Biscop or Ceolfrid. In any case it is practically the same text as the Amiatinus.

In Plate XXXV can be seen a much reduced copy of the first words of the Gospel of St. Luke in the Lindisfarne book; and even in this reduction the beauty and elaboration of the intricately interlaced design which composes the initial Q can be fairly seen. Between the lines of the original writing is the English paraphrase, in a minute cursive hand, without pretensions to ornament. The history of the MS. after its completion deserves a word of mention, for a special romance attaches to it. Written in honour of St. Cuthbert, it was preserved at Lindisfarne along with the Saint's body; but in the year 875 an invasion of the Danes drove the monks to carry away both body and book. For several years they wandered to and fro in northern England; then, in despair, they resolved to cross over to Ireland. But the Saint was angry at being taken from his own land, and a great storm met the boat as it put out; and as the boat lay on its side in the fury of the storm the precious volume was washed overboard and lost. Realizing the Saint's displeasure, the monks put back, in a state of much penitence and sorrow for their loss; but at last the Saint encouraged one of them in a dream to search for the book along the shore, and on a day of exceptionally low tide they found it, practically uninjured by its immersion. The story is told by the chronicler Simeon of Durham, writing about 1104; and it need not be dismissed as a mere medieval legend. Precious volumes, according to the Irish practice, were carried in special cases or covers, which might well defend them from much damage from the sea; and it is certain that several pages of this book (which was regularly known in medieval times as "the book of St. Cuthbert which fell into the sea") show to this day the marks of injury from water which has filtered in from without. The subsequent history of the MS. may be briefly told. Always accompanying the Saint's body, it found homes at Chester-le-Street, Durham, and finally at Lindisfarne once more. At the Dissolution of the Monasteries it was cast abroad into the world and stripped of its jewelled covers; but was rescued by Sir Robert Cotton, and passed with his collection into the British Museum, where it now rests in peace and safety.

*Eminence of English Scholarship in Eighth and Ninth Centuries*

But this is a digression. The point which we have established is the formation of an excellent text of the Vulgate in northern

England, by means of copies brought from Italy. During the eighth and ninth centuries northern England was the most flourishing home of Christian scholarship in Western Europe. The twin houses of Wearmouth and Jarrow were the headquarters of the school; and the great names in it are those of Ceolfrid, Bede and Alcuin. Ceolfrid's services in the bringing of manuscripts from Italy, and in the production of the Codex Amiatinus, have been mentioned above (p. 244). Bede (A.D. 674-735), the first great historian of England, lived and died at Jarrow. Of him we shall have more to say in the next chapter, in connexion with the earliest translations of the Bible into English. Alcuin (A.D. 735-805), on the other hand, is intimately connected with the most important stage of the history of the Vulgate in the Middle Ages.

*Alcuin Invited by Charlemagne to Revise Vulgate in France*

While Ireland and England were taking the lead in promoting the study and circulation of the Bible, the Bible in France was sinking deeper and deeper into the confusion and corruption which have been described above. No one who has not worked among manuscripts can know the endless degrees of deterioration to which a much-copied text can sink, or realize the hopelessness of maintaining for long a high or uniform standard of correctness. Nothing but the strong hand of a reformer could check the progress of decay; and that was at last found in the great emperor Charlemagne. From the beginning of his reign this monarch manifested great concern for the reformation of the text of the Scriptures. He forbade them to be copied by inexperienced boys at schools; and when he cast his eyes round for a scholar who might undertake the revision of the corrupted text, he naturally looked to England, and there found the man whom he required in the person of Alcuin of York, the most distinguished scholar of the day. Alcuin was invited to France; was attached to the court at Aix and made master of the schools which Charlemagne established in his palace, with the title and revenues of the abbot of St. Martin of Tours; and subsequently retiring to Tours, inaugurated there a great school of copyists and scholars, and there received the commission of the emperor to prepare a revised and corrected edition of the Latin Bible.

*Alcuin's Vulgate*

Two families of texts were then widely represented in France, the Spanish and the Irish. These, coming respectively from south

and north, met in the region of the Loire, and both were known to Alcuin. Probably he realized that both were more or less corrupt. In 796 we find him sending to York for manuscripts, showing how highly he valued the text preserved in the copies of northern England; in 801 the revision was complete, and on Christmas Day in that year a copy of the restored Vulgate was presented by him to Charlemagne. We have evidence of several copies having been made under Alcuin's own direction during the short remainder of his life, and, although none of these has actually come down to us, we yet possess several manuscripts which contain Alcuin's text more or less perfectly preserved. The best of these is the Codex Vallicellanus, containing the whole Bible, now in the library of the Oratory adjoining the church of Sta. Maria in Vallicella, at Rome, but written at Tours in the ninth century, probably in or soon after the lifetime of Alcuin.

Another fine copy (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 10546, sometimes known as the Bible of Charlemagne), likewise containing the whole Bible, may be seen in one of the showcases in the British Museum, and of this a reproduction is given in Plate XXXVI. It is an excellent specimen of the style of writing introduced in France during the reign of Charlemagne, the special headquarters of which was the school of Tours, over which Alcuin presided. It marked a new departure in the history of Latin writing, and it was this style of writing that indirectly formed the model from which our modern printed types are taken. The MS. in question is written in double columns on a page measuring 20 by 14½ inches. Here only part of one column can be shown (and that much reduced in scale), containing 1 John iv. 16-v. 10, and it will be seen that the famous interpolation in chap. v. verse 7 relating to the Three Heavenly Witnesses is here absent. The text is found in no Greek MSS. except a few of very late date in which it has been inserted from the Latin. It is a purely Latin interpolation of African origin, which, beginning as a gloss, first found its way into the text of Spain, where it appears in the Freising Fragments, and later in the Vulgate codices Cavensis and Toletanus. Thence it spread over Europe as an unequivocal Scripture 'proof' of the doctrine of the Trinity. The verse is absent from the best Vulgate MSS. (e.g. Amiatinus and Fuldensis), and as has been said, finds no place in Alcuin's corrected Vulgate. There the text runs, "for there are three that bear witness, the spirit, the water, and the blood; and the three are one".

*The Golden Gospels of Charlemagne*

The zeal of Charlemagne for the Bible was not manifested in his encouragement of Alcuin's revision alone. From his reign date a series of splendid manuscripts of the Gospels, written in gold letters upon white or purple vellum, and adorned with magnificent decorations. The artistic inspiration of these highly decorated copies is clearly derived from the Anglo-Celtic manuscripts of which we have spoken above, and it is probable that here again Alcuin was the principal agent in carrying the English influence into the Continent. It has at least been shown to be probable that the centre from which these 'Golden Gospels', as they are sometimes called, took their rise, was in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, where Alcuin was settled as master of the palace schools before his retirement to Tours; and the earliest examples of this style appear to have been written during the time of his residence in that region. In any case they are a splendid evidence of the value in which the sacred volume was held, and they show how the tradition of the English illumination was carried abroad into France. The characteristic interlacings of the style are plainly evident, but the extent to which they are employed has diminished; and although the profuse employment of gold lends these books a gorgeousness which their predecessors do not possess, yet the skill and labour bestowed upon them cannot be ranked so high, and the reader who will compare the best examples of either class will probably agree that, while both are splendid, the Books of Kells and of Lindisfarne are even more marvellous as works of art than the Golden Gospels of Charlemagne. The texts of these Gospels differ from those of the Tours manuscripts in being closer to the Anglo-Saxon type, and this is quite in accordance with the theory which assigns their origin to the influence of Alcuin, but at a period earlier than that of his thorough revision of the Vulgate. Manuscripts of this class continued to be written under the successors of Charlemagne, especially in the reign of Charles the Bald (843-81); but after that date they disappear, and a less gorgeous style of illumination takes the place of these elaborate and beautiful volumes.

*The Revision of Theodulf*

It was not only under the immediate direction of Charlemagne that the desire for an improved text of the Vulgate was active. Almost simultaneously with Alcuin, Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, was undertaking a revision upon different lines. Theodulf was

probably a Visigoth by birth—a member, that is, of the race of Goths which had occupied Spain, and from which the Spaniards are in part descended. He came from the south of France, and hence all his associations were with the districts on either side of the Pyrenees. Thus, while Alcuin represented the English and Irish traditions of the Bible text, Theodulf embodies the traditions of Spain. At Orleans, however, of which see he was bishop about the year 800, he stood at the meeting-place of the two streams; and his revised Vulgate, though mainly Spanish in type, shows also traces of Irish influence, as well as of the use of good Alcuinian MSS. His revision, which is of the nature of a critical edition with variants in the margin denoted by letters indicating their origin, is very unequal in value, and its importance is by no means so great as that of Alcuin's work. Undertaken apart from the influence of Charlemagne, it was never generally adopted, and now survives in comparatively few manuscripts, the best of which (Codex Theodulfianus) is in the National Library at Paris.<sup>1</sup>

### *The School of St. Gall*

One other school of Biblical study at this period deserves notice. Not far from the Lake of Constance lies the monastery of St. Gall, now a comparatively obscure and unvisited spot, but formerly a great centre of study and of penmanship. At this day it is almost, if not quite, unique in retaining still in the twentieth century the library which made it famous in the ninth. At a still earlier period it was a focus of Irish missionary effort. Irish monks made their way to its walls, bringing with them their own peculiar style of writing; and manuscripts in the Irish style still exist in some numbers in the library of St. Gall. The style was taken up and imitated by the native monks; and in the ninth century, under the direction of the scribe and scholar Hartmut, the school of St. Gall was definitely established as a prominent centre of activity in the work of copying MSS. His successors, towards the end of the century, developed a distinct style of writing, which became generally adopted in the districts bordering on the Rhine. The *text* of these St. Gall manuscripts, on the other hand, looks southwards for its home, not north, and is derived from Milan, with some traces of Spanish influence, instead of from Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> The British Museum possesses a copy (Add. MS. 24124), known as the Bible of St. Hubert.

*Subsequent Deterioration*

Thus in the ninth century a healthy activity prevailed in many quarters, directed towards the securing of a sound text of the Bible. But permanence in goodness cannot be maintained so long as books are copied by hand alone. The errors of copyists undo the labours of scholars, and in a short time chaos has come again. The Alcuinian text was corrupted with surprising rapidity, and the private labours of Theodulf had even less lasting an effect. The decadence of the House of Charlemagne was reflected in the decadence of the Bible text which he had striven to purify and establish. The invasion of the Normans broke up the school of Tours, as the invasion of the Danes broke up the school of Wearmouth and Jarrow in Northumbria. In these wars and tumults scholarship went to the ground. A few individuals, such as our Norman Archbishop Lanfranc, tried to check the growing corruption of the Bible text, but with only temporary effect. It was not until four centuries had passed away that a real and effectual attempt was made to restore the Vulgate to something like its ancient form.

*The Revision of the Thirteenth Century*

England had led the way in the ninth century; but in the thirteenth the glory belongs almost entirely to France. It is to the influence of the French king St. Louis, and the scholarship of the newly established University of Paris, that the revision of the thirteenth century is due. Those who are acquainted with the manuscripts of the Vulgate in any of our great libraries will know what a remarkable proportion of them were written in this century. The small, compressed writing, arranged in double columns, with little decoration except simple coloured initials, becomes very familiar to the student of manuscripts, and impresses him with a sense of the great activity which must have prevailed at that period in multiplying copies of the Bible. Very many of them are small volumes, evidently intended for private use; and their number is a proof of a great growth of the study of the Bible at this time. For us at the present day the principal result of the labours of the Paris doctors is the division of our Bible into chapters. Divisions of both Old and New Testaments into sections of various sizes existed from very early times; but our modern chapter-division was the work of Stephen Langton, then a doctor of the University of Paris, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury and leader of the barons in the struggle which gave birth to

Magna Charta. The *texts* of these Parisian Bibles are not, it must be admitted, of any very remarkable excellence; but they are very important in the history of the Vulgate, because it is virtually upon them that the printed text of the Bible of the Roman Church is based to this day.

### *Printed Latin Bibles*

We are going ahead too fast, and shall have to retrace our steps in the next chapter; but it will be convenient to conclude here the history of the Latin Bible. It has been made evident that, so long as Bibles continued to be copied by hand, no stability or uniformity of text could be maintained. As with the Greek Bible, so with the Latin, the later copies become progressively worse and worse. Hence the enormous importance of the invention of printing, which made it possible to fix and stereotype a form of text, and secure that it should be handed on without substantial change from one generation to another. The first book printed in Europe, it is pleasant to know, was the Latin Bible—the splendid Mazarin Bible (so called from the fact that the first copy which attracted much attention in later times was that in the library of Cardinal Mazarin) issued by Gutenberg in 1456, of which a copy may be seen exhibited in the British Museum, and from which the first page is here given in reduced facsimile (Plate XXXVII). But this edition, and many others which followed it, merely reproduced the current form of text, without revision or comparison with the best manuscripts. Ximenes and Erasmus, the first editors of the Greek printed Bible, also bestowed much labour on the Latin text; but the first really critical edition was that prepared by Stephanus in 1528, and revised by himself in 1538–40. No authoritative edition, however, was forthcoming until the accession to the Papal chair of Sixtus V in 1585.

### *The Sixtine Bible*

Immediately on his accession, this energetic Pope appointed a commission to revise the text of the Bible, and in the work of revision he himself took an active part. Good manuscripts were used as authorities, including notably the Codex Amiatinus; and in 1590 the completed work issued from the press in three volumes. The text resembles generally that of Stephanus, on which it was evidently based. But hardly had Pope Sixtus declared his edition to be the sole authentic and authorized form of the Bible, when he died; and one of the first acts of Clement VIII, on his accession

in 1592, was to call in all the copies of the Sixtine Bible. The alleged reason was that the edition was full of errors, but Dr. White, the editor of the Oxford Vulgate, has shown that this charge is baseless. It is true that some errors in the prefaces have been corrected in hand-stamped type; but the Bible text is remarkably accurate.

### *The Clementine Bible*

It is believed, however, that Clement was incited to this attack on his predecessor's memory by the Jesuits, whom Sixtus had offended. In any case the fact remains that Clement caused a new edition to be prepared, which appeared towards the end of 1592. This edition was not confined to a removal of the errors of the press in the Sixtine volumes, but presents a considerably altered text, differing, it has been estimated, from its predecessor in no less than 3,000 readings. Here at last we reach the origin of the text of the Latin Bible current today; for the Clementine edition, sometimes appearing under the name of Clement, sometimes (to disguise the appearance of difference between two Popes) under that of Sixtus, was constituted the one authorized text of the Vulgate, from which no single variation is permitted.

It cannot be pretended that the Clementine text is satisfactory from the point of view of history or scholarship. The alterations which differentiate it from the Sixtine edition, except where they simply remove an obvious blunder, are, for the most part, no improvement; and in any case, the circumstances of the time did not permit so full and scientific an examination of all the evidence as is possible now. The task of revising the Vulgate text in accordance with modern knowledge was for a long time left almost entirely to scholars outside the pale of the Roman Church. Of these the most conspicuous have been Richard Bentley in the past, Bishop Wordsworth, Dean White, Dr. Sparks, M. Berger and Dr. Corssen in the last seventy years. More recently the Vatican has itself taken the matter in hand. Under the auspices of Pope Leo XIII a new critical edition of the Vulgate was planned, and search was made, especially in Spain, for manuscripts hitherto unexamined. The conduct of the work was entrusted by Pope Pius XI (himself formerly a librarian and a lover of manuscripts as well as of the Bible) to the English cardinal, F. A. Gasquet, under whose direction the main editorial labour was carried out by Dom Henri Quentin. The New Testament being already far advanced in the Oxford edition, it was decided to deal first with the Old



Testament. The first volume, containing Genesis, appeared in 1926, and the Pentateuch was completed in 1936. Dom Quentin, in an elaborate study of the MSS. of the Pentateuch (of which thirty-three were used for Genesis), came to the conclusion that they fall into three groups, headed respectively by the Tours Pentateuch (sixth or seventh century), the Ottobonianus of the Vatican (an Octateuch, lacking Ruth and part of Judges, of the seventh century), and the Amiatinus (early eighth century, see p. 244); and he forms his text by following the majority of these three, of which he regards the Tours MS. as the best.

Since the lamented death of Dom Quentin in 1935, the work has been entrusted by the Pope to a Benedictine community established in a monastery bearing the name of St. Jerome, on the Janiculum hill. This has ensured the continuance of the work, which has now reached Psalms (1953). When the Vatican Old Testament is completed, with this and the Oxford New Testament scholars will at last have a scientifically established text of the Vulgate, secured by the permanence of print.

## CHAPTER X

### THE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPT BIBLES

We take another step forward in our story, and narrow still further the circle of our inquiry. It is no longer the original text of the Bible with which we have to deal, nor even the Bible of Western Europe. Our step is a step nearer home; our subject is the Bible of our own country and in our own language. For nearly a thousand years, from the landing of Augustine to the Reformation, the official Bible, so to speak, the Bible of the Church services and of monastic usage, was the Latin Vulgate. But although the monks and clergy learnt Latin, and a knowledge of Latin was the most essential element of an educated man's culture, it was never the language of the common people. To them the Bible, if it came at all, must come in English, and from almost the earliest times there were churchmen and statesmen whose care it was that, whether by reading it for themselves, if they were able, or by hearing it read to them, the common people should have at least the more important parts of the Bible accessible to them in their own language. For 1,200 years one may fairly say that the English people has never been entirely without an English Bible.

#### *The Conversion of England*

It was in the year 597 that Augustine landed in Kent, and brought back to that part of the island the Christianity which had been driven out of it by our Saxon, Jute and Engle forefathers. In 634, Birinus, a Roman priest from Gaul, converted the West Saxons; and in 635 came Aidan from Iona to preach Christianity in Northumbria, as related in the last chapter. Soon after the middle of the century all England had heard the Word of Christ, proclaimed by word of mouth by the missionaries of Rome or of Ireland. At first there would be no need of a written Bible for the common people. As in the days of Christ and his Apostles, men heard the Word of God by direct preaching. Most of them could not read, and the enthusiasm of a convert requires personal instruction rather than study of a written book. Yet it was not long before the story of the Bible made its appearance in English literature.

*The Bible Paraphrase of Cædmon*

In the abbey of the Lady Hilda at Whitby was a brother named Cædmon, who had no skill in making songs, and would therefore leave the table when his turn came to sing something for the pleasure of the company. But one night when he had done so, and had lain down in the stable and there fallen asleep, there stood One by him in a dream, and said, "Cædmon, sing Me something." And he answered, "I cannot sing, and for that reason I have left the feast." But He said, "Nevertheless, thou canst sing to Me." "What," said he, "must I sing?" And He said, "Sing the beginning of created things." So he sang; and the poem of Cædmon is the first native growth of English literature. It is a paraphrase in verse of the Bible narrative, from both Old and New Testaments, written in that early dialect which we call Anglo-Saxon, but which is really the ancient form of English.

*The Psalter of Aldhelm*

Cædmon's Bible paraphrase was written about 670, a generation after the coming of Aidan; and another generation had not passed away before part of the Bible had been actually translated into English. Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, who died in 709, translated the Psalms, and thereby holds the honour of having been the first translator of the Bible into our native tongue. It is uncertain whether we still possess any part of his work, or not. There is a version of the Psalms in Anglo-Saxon, preserved in a manuscript at Paris, which has been supposed to be the Psalter of Aldhelm; but the manuscript was only written in the eleventh century and the language of the translation seems to contain forms which had not come into existence in the time at which Aldhelm lived. If, therefore, this version, which gives the first fifty Psalms in prose and the rest in verse, really belongs to Aldhelm at all, the language must have been somewhat modified in later copies.

*Bede*

The next translator of whom we hear is the greatest name in the history of the early English Church. Bede (673-735) was the glory of the Northumbrian school, which, as we have seen, was the most shining light of learning in Western Europe during the eighth century. In addition to his greatest work, the *History of the English Church*, he wrote commentaries on many of the books of the Bible. These works, which were intended primarily for

scholars, were written in Latin; but we know that he also took care that the Scriptures might be faithfully delivered to the common people in their own tongue. He translated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, as the first essentials of the Christian faith; and at the time of his death he was engaged on a translation of the Gospel of St. John. The story of its completion, told by his disciple, Cuthbert, is well known, but it never can be omitted in a history of the English Bible. On the Eve of Ascension Day, 735, the great scholar lay dying, but dictating, while his strength allowed, to his disciples; and they wrote down the translation of the Gospel as it fell from his lips, being urged by him to write quickly, since he knew not how soon his Master would call him. On Ascension morning one chapter alone remained unfinished, and the youth who had been copying hesitated to press his master further; but he would not rest. "It is easily done," he said; "take thy pen and write quickly." Failing strength and the last farewells to the brethren of the monastery prolonged the task, till at eventide the boy reminded his master: "There is yet one sentence unwritten, dear master." "Write it quickly," was the answer; and it was written at his word. "It is written now," said the boy. "You speak truth," answered the saint; "it is finished now." Then he bade them lay him on the pavement of his cell, supporting his head in their hands; and as he repeated the Gloria, with the name of the Holy Spirit on his lips, he passed quietly away.

Of Bede's translation no trace or vestige now remains; nor are we more fortunate when we pass from the great scholar of the early Church to the great statesman, King Alfred. Alfred, by far the finest name among the early sovereigns of England, careful for the moral and intellectual welfare of his people, did not neglect the work which Aldhelm and Bede had begun. He prefixed a translation of the Ten Commandments and other extracts from the Law of Moses to his own code of laws, and translated, or caused to be translated, several other parts of the Bible. He is said to have been engaged on a version of the Psalms at the time of his death; but no copy of his work has survived, although a manuscript (really of later date) now in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> and containing the Latin text with an English translation between the lines, has borne the name of King Alfred's Psalter. Still, though nothing has come down to us from Bede or Alfred, the tradition is valuable, as assuring us of the existence of English Bibles, or parts of Bibles, in the eighth and ninth centuries. From

<sup>1</sup> Stowe MS. 2, of the eleventh century.

the end of this period we have an actual example of an English Psalter still extant; for a manuscript in the British Museum, containing the Psalms in Latin, written about A.D. 700 (though formerly supposed to have belonged to St. Augustine himself), has had a word-for-word translation in the Kentish dialect inserted about the end of the ninth century. In the tenth century we stand on firmer ground, for, in addition to similar translations, we reach the date of independent versions, known to us from copies still extant in several of our public libraries.

### *Interlinear Glosses*

It is indeed possible that the Gospels were rendered into English earlier than the tenth century, since one would naturally expect them to be the first part of the Bible which a translator would wish to make accessible to the common people; but we have no actual mention or proof of the existence of such a translation before that date. As in the case of the Psalter, the earliest form in which the Gospels appear in the English language is that of glosses, or word-for-word translations written between the lines of Latin manuscripts; and the oldest copy of such a gloss now in existence is that of which mention has already been made in describing the Lindisfarne book of the Gospels. That magnificent volume was originally written in Latin about the year 700; and about 950 Aldred the priest wrote his Anglo-Saxon paraphrase between the lines of the Latin text. Some words of this translation may be seen in the facsimile given in Plate XXXV; and we may regard them with a special interest as belonging to the oldest existing copy of the Gospels in the English language. The dialect in which this translation is written is naturally Northumbrian, which differed in some respects from that spoken in other parts of the island. Another gloss of the Gospels is found in a manuscript at Oxford, known as the Rushworth MS. It is of somewhat later date than the Lindisfarne book, and in the Gospels of St. Mark, St. Luke and St. John it follows that manuscript closely; but the gloss on St. Matthew is in the Old Mercian dialect, which was spoken in the central part of England. See Plate XXXIX.

### *The Gospels of the Tenth Century*

These glosses were, no doubt, originally made in order to assist the missionaries and preachers who had to instruct their congregations in the message of the Gospel; and the same must have been the object of the earliest independent translations of the

Bible books. Few, if any, of the ordinary English inhabitants would be able to read; but the monks and priests who preached to them would interpret the Bible to them in their own tongue, and their task would be rendered easier by the existence of written English Gospels. We know, moreover, that during the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period the culture and scholarship of the English clergy declined greatly, so that the preachers themselves would often be unable to understand the Latin Bible, and needed the assistance of an English version. It is in the south that we first meet with such a translation of the Gospels existing by itself, apart from the Latin text on which it was based. There are in all six copies of this translation now extant, two at Oxford, two at Cambridge, and two in the British Museum, with a fragment of a seventh at Oxford. All these are closely related to one another, being either actually copied from one another or taken from a common original without much variation. The oldest is a manuscript in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which was written by one Ælfric, at Bath, about the year 1000. There can be no doubt that the original translation, of which these are copies, was made in the south-west of England, in the region known as Wessex, not later than about the middle of the tenth century. It may have been made earlier, but we have no evidence that it was so, and the total absence of such evidence must be taken as an unfavourable sign.

In Plate XL is given a facsimile of one of the British Museum copies of this first independent version of the Gospels in English. The manuscript, which was written in the early part of the twelfth century, has an interest of its own, even apart from its contents; and its history is partly told by the inscription which it bears on its first page, here reproduced. This page contains the beginning of St. Mark's Gospel, which holds the first place in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, and is headed "Text[us] iiii. evangelior[um]"—i.e. "The text of the four Gospels." To the right of this are the words "angl. d xvi. G<sup>a</sup> IIII". Below is the name "Thomas Cantuarien[sis]" and the figures "1 A xiv."; and at the bottom of the page there can clearly be seen the signature "Lumley".

What do all these inscriptions tell us of the history of the MS.? They tell us first that it is a copy of the four Gospels in English; next that it bore the press-mark, "D[istinctio] xvi. G[r]a[dus] IV", a press-mark of a form which we know to have been used in the library of Canterbury Cathedral; and when we turn up the catalogue of that library, made in the time of Prior Henry of

Eastry, we find among the English books a "Textus iv. evangeliorum, anglice", which it is safe to assume is the same book. After the Dissolution of the Monasteries it passed into the possession of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, whose secretary wrote his name (in a hand closely resembling the prelate's own writing) at the head of the page; and after Cranmer's death it was acquired, with many others of his books, by Henry Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, from whom it descended to his son-in-law, John, Lord Lumley. Lumley died in 1609, and his library was bought for Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of James I. Thereby this volume entered the Royal Library, in which it bore the press-mark 1 A xiv.; and when that library was presented to the nation by George II in 1757, it passed into the keeping of the British Museum, then newly established; and there, retaining the same press-marks, it still remains. So much history may a few notes of ownership convey to us.

Some readers may be curious to see the form of the language in which this first English Bible is written. It is unlike enough to our modern English, yet it is its true and direct ancestor. After quoting the first words of the Gospel in Latin, the translation begins thus: "Her ys Godspelles angin, halendes cristes godes sune. Swa awriten ys on thaswitegan bec isaiam. Nu ic asende mine ængel beforan thinre ansyne. Se gegarewath thinne weg beforan the. Clepigende stefen on tham westene gegarwiath drihtnes weg. Doth rihte his sythas. Iohannes wæs on westene fulgende & bodiende. Dædbote fulwyht on synna forgyfenysse."

### *The Old Testament of Ælfric*

This specimen will probably be enough for those who have no special acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon. Shortly after the date at which this version of the Gospels was probably made, in or about the year 990, Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, translated a considerable part of the Old Testament—namely, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Esther, Job, Judith and Maccabees, omitting such passages as seemed to him less necessary and important. Two copies of this version are known, at Oxford and in the British Museum. This completes the history of the English Bible before the Norman Conquest. That catastrophe seems to have crushed for a time the literary development of the English people. The upper class was overthrown and kept in subjection; the lower orders were too ignorant to carry on the work for themselves. It is true that the existence of the manuscript described

just above is a proof that the early English version of the Gospels continued to be copied, and presumably read, in the twelfth century; but it is not until the century after this that we find any resumption of the task of translating the Scriptures into the language of the common people.

### *Verse Translations in the Thirteenth Century*

In the reigns of John and Henry III the intermixture between Norman and English was progressing fast, and the English element was beginning to assert its predominance in the combination. English poetry begins again with Layamon about the year 1205. Ten years later religious verse made its reappearance in the *Ormulum*, a metrical version of the daily services of the Church, including portions of Scripture from the New Testament. About the middle of the century the narratives of Genesis and Exodus were rendered into rhyming verse; and towards its end we find a nearer approach to regular translation in a metrical version of the Psalter which has come down to us in several copies. It is curious that, at this time, the Psalter seems to have been in especial favour in England, almost to the exclusion of the other books of the Bible. For about a century, from 1250 to 1350, no book of the Bible seems to have been translated into English except the Psalter; and of this there were no less than three distinct versions within that period. In addition to the verse translation just mentioned, of which the author is unknown, a prose version exists, written in the first half of the fourteenth century, which has been attributed to one William of Shoreham, vicar of Chart Sutton, in Kent. The attribution, however, rests solely on the fact that it occurs in the same volume as some poems by William of Shoreham; and since the dialect is not Kentish but of West Midlands, the attribution is improbable. At about the same time another prose version, accompanied by a verse-by-verse commentary, was produced by Richard Rolle, a hermit of Hampole, near Doncaster, which had a wide circulation, and that not only in the north, since copies are extant in the other dialects of the kingdom.

### *The Psalters of William of Shoreham*

Some specimens of these translations will show the progress of the English language, and carry on the history of the English Bible. The following is the beginning of the 56th Psalm as it



appears in the version attributed to William of Shoreham: "Have mercy on me, God, for man hath defouled me. The fende trubled me, *feghtand*<sup>1</sup> alday oghayns me. Myn enemys defouled me alday, for many were *feghtand oghains* me. Y shal dred the fram the *heght* of the daye; y for sothe shal hope in the. Hii shal hery my wordes, what manes flesshe doth to me. Alday the wicked acurseden myn wordes oghains me; alle her thouites ben in ivel."

*And of Richard Rolle of Hampole*

In Richard Rolle of Hampole the verses are separated from one another by a commentary, much exceeding the original text in length. Many copies of this version exist, but they differ considerably from one another, so that it is difficult to say which represents best the author's original work. Here is the same passage as it appears in one of the manuscripts (Brit. Mus. Arundel MS. 158): "Have mercy of me, God, for man trad me, al day the *fyghtyng*e troublede me. Myn enemys me trede al day for many *fyghtyng*e aghenes me. Fro the *hyghnesse* of the day schal I drede: I sothly schal hope in the. In God I schal preyse my wordes, in God I hopede. I schal *noght* drede what flesch doth to me. Al day my wordes thei cursede aghenes me, alle the *thoghtes* of hem in yvel."

*Revival of Religion in the Fourteenth Century*

Such was the knowledge of the Bible in England on the eve of the great revival which took place in the fourteenth century. The old Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels had dropped out of use, as its language gradually became antiquated and unintelligible; and no new translation had taken its place. The Psalms alone were extant in versions which made any pretence to be faithful. The remaining books of the Bible were known to the common people only in the shape of rhyming paraphrases, or by such oral teaching as the clergy may have given. But with the increase of life and interest in the lower classes, and with the revival of literary activity in the English language, this condition of things could not last. The end of the thirteenth century had seen the first recognition of the right of the common folk to representation in the national Council, which thenceforward became a Parliament. The reigns of Edward II and Edward III saw the steady growth

<sup>1</sup> The letter represented by *gh* sometimes corresponds to our *y*, sometimes to *g* or *gh*.

of a spirit of healthy life and independence in the people. They saw also the rise of literature, in Langland and Gower, and above all in Chaucer, to a position of real influence in the national life. And with this quickening interest in their surroundings on the part of the common people, there came a quickening interest in religion, which was met and answered by the power and the will to provide religious teaching for them in their own language. The tragedy of the Black Death also, in 1348-9, may well have deepened the national feeling. Thus was the way prepared for the religious movement which makes the fourteenth century so important a period in the history of our Church and Bible. In France, under the stimulus of the University of Paris, and perhaps of the king, St. Louis, the awakening had come a century sooner, and had manifested itself alike in a revised edition of the current Vulgate text, with a great multiplication of copies for common and private use, and in the preparation of the first complete version of the Bible in French. In England the result of the movement was likewise an increased circulation of the Bible, but it was a Bible in the language of the people.

The movement of which we are speaking is commonly connected in our minds, and quite rightly, with the name of Wycliffe; but it is impossible to define exactly the extent of his own personal participation in each of its developments. The movement was at first discountenanced, and presently persecuted, by the leading authorities in Church and State; and hence the writers of works in connexion with it were not anxious to reveal their names. Most of the publications on the Wycliffite side are anonymous; and the natural consequence of this is that nearly all of them have been, at one time or another, attributed to Wycliffe himself. So far, however, as our immediate subject, the translation of the Bible, is concerned, there is no reason to doubt the personal responsibility of Wycliffe; nor is there any sufficient reason for the opinion, which has been sometimes held, that a complete English Bible existed before his time. It rests mainly on the statement of Sir Thomas More, in his controversy with Tyndale, the author of the first printed English New Testament, that he had seen English Bibles of an earlier date than Wycliffe's. The nearest approach to a justification of this claim is a version of the Pauline Epistles and the four larger Catholic Epistles (1 John, James, 1 and 2 Peter), to which were subsequently added the minor Catholic Epistles, the Acts, and Matt. i. 1-vi. 8, extant in a small group of MSS., of which the earliest (now at Cambridge) was

written about the year 1400. This version (the credit for the publication of which in 1902 is due to Miss A. Paucs) is said in the Prologue to have been made at the request of a monk and a nun by their superior; and that it belongs to a time of controversy is shown by the fact that the author says that he wrote it at the risk of his life. It therefore does not satisfy the requirements of More's statement at all. It is far more probable that More was not aware that there were *two* Wycliffite translations, and had mistaken the date of the earlier one. This would be all the easier since the earlier version had no Preface (as the second had) which definitely identified it with Wycliffe's views. To the history of these translations, the first complete Bible in the English language, we may now proceed.

### *Wycliffe*

John Wycliffe was born in Yorkshire about the year 1330. He became a fellow of Merton College at Oxford about 1356, and by 1360 had been elected Master of Balliol College; but resigned the latter post when, in 1361, he was presented to the living of Fillingham, in Lincolnshire. It was not until he had passed middle life that he began to take part in public controversies; but when he did so, he at once became the most prominent leader of the party of reform. It was a period of discontent in England; discontent at the long and costly war with France, discontent at the demands of the Pope for money, discontent at the wealth of the higher dignitaries and corporations of the Church, who, in the main, supported the claims of the Pope. Wycliffe's first work was a treatise justifying the refusal of Parliament to pay the tribute claimed by the Pope in 1366; and from 1371 he was in the forefront of the religious and social disturbance which now began to rage. Papal interference and Church property were the main objects of his attack, and his chief enemies were the bishops. He was supported in most of his struggles by John of Gaunt, who wished to humiliate the Church; by the University of Oxford, consistently faithful to him except when he committed himself to theological opinions which it held heretical; and by the great mass of the common people, whose views he reflected with regard to the Pope and the Papal supporters.

With the political and religious controversy we have here nothing to do. Whether Wycliffe was right or wrong in his attack on Church property or in his generally socialistic schemes concerns us not now. Reformers are often carried to extremes which

dispassionate observers must condemn. But his championship of the common people led him to undertake a work which entitles him to honourable mention by men of all parties and all opinions – the preparation of an English Bible which every man who knew his letters might read in his own home. And that even those who could not read might receive the knowledge of the teachings of this Bible, he instituted his order of ‘poor priests’ to go about and preach to the poor in their own tongue, working in harmony with the clergy if they would allow them, but against them or independent of them if they were hostile.

### *The Earlier Wycliffite Bible*

The exact history of Wycliffe’s translation of the Bible is uncertain. Separate versions of the Apocalypse and of a Harmony of the Gospels have been attributed to him, with more or less probability, but with no certainty. In any case these were but preludes to the great work. The New Testament was perhaps first finished, and in 1382, or soon afterwards, the version of the entire Bible was completed. He was now rector of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, living mainly in his parish, but keeping constantly in touch with Oxford and London. Other scholars assisted in the work, but we have no certain means of knowing how much of the translation was actually done by Wycliffe himself. The New Testament is attributed to him, but we cannot say with certainty whether any of it is his own work. The greater part of the Old Testament was certainly translated by Nicholas Hereford, one of Wycliffe’s most ardent supporters at Oxford. A manuscript written under Hereford’s direction is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Bodl. 959). It is written by five different scribes, who use different dialectical forms; and alterations and erasures show changes of rendering made as the work went along which suggest that the text was being dictated by the translator himself. There is an abrupt break at Baruch iii. 20 in the middle of a sentence, and it is evident that Hereford carried on the work no further, for another MS. copied directly from this, also at Oxford (Douce 309) ends at the same place and has a contemporary Latin note in red ink “Explic’ translatōm Nicholay de herford”, as can be seen at the last line of Plate XLI. It has been supposed that this sudden break marks the time of Hereford’s summons to London in 1382, to answer for his opinions, which resulted in his excommunication and retirement from England. After Hereford’s

departure the translation of the Old Testament was continued by Wycliffe, or what is more probable by his assistants, and so the entire Bible was complete in its English dress before the death of Wycliffe in 1384.

A marked difference in style distinguishes Hereford's work from that of the other translators. Their style is free and colloquial, as is Wycliffe's own in his other works. There can be little doubt that he had in his mind the common people, for whom his version was specially intended, and that he wrote in a style which they would understand and appreciate. Hereford, on the other hand, was a scholar, perhaps a pedant, trained in university ideas of exactness and accuracy. He clung too closely to the exact words of the Latin from which his translation was made, and hence his style is stiff and awkward, and sometimes even obscure from its too literal faithfulness to the original.

### *The Later Wycliffite Bible*

The rest of the translation also was capable of improvement, and the strong contrast in style with the work of Hereford called aloud for a revision of the whole version. Such a revision was taken in hand, shortly after Wycliffe's death, by one of his followers, and was completed probably about the year 1400. The pupil who executed it has left a Preface, in which he describes the principles upon which his revision was made, but he has not told us his name; from internal evidence, however, and especially from the verbal resemblance between this Preface and other writings of which the author is known, he is believed to have been John Purvey, one of Wycliffe's most intimate friends during the latter part of his life, and a sharer in the condemnation of Nicholas Hereford. The Old Testament, which stood most in need of revision, was completed first, and the reviser's Preface relates to that alone. The New Testament followed later. This revised version rapidly supplanted its predecessor, and became the current form of the Wycliffite Bible during the fifteenth century. (Plate XLII.)

About 170 copies of the Wycliffite Bible are now known to be in existence; and of these, five-sixths contain the revised edition by Purvey, while less than thirty have the original form of the translation. The following instance will show the character of this, the first complete English Bible, and the extent of the alterations made by Purvey. In the first passage the author of the older version is Hereford; in the second it is Wycliffe or one of his unnamed assistants.

## EARLIER VERSION

## ISAIAH XXXV. 1-6

Gladen shal desert and the with  
oute weie, and ful out shal ioyen the  
wildernesse, and flouren as a lillie.  
Buriownynge it shal burioune, and  
ful out ioyen, ioyeful and preising.  
The glorie of Liban is yowe to it, the  
fairnesse of Carmel and of Saron; thei  
shul see the glorie of the Lord, and  
the fairnesse of oure God. Coum-  
forteth the hondes loosid atwynne,  
and the feble knees strengtheth.  
Seith, yee of litil corage, taketh coum-  
fort, and wileth not dreden; lo! oure  
God veniaunce of yelding shal bringe,  
God he shal come and sauen us.  
Thanne shul ben opened the eyen of  
blynde men, and eres of deue men  
shal ben opened. Thanne shal lepe  
as an hert the halte, and opened shal  
be the tunge of doumbe men; for kut  
ben in desert watris, and stremes in  
wildernesse.

## HEBREWS i. 1-4

Manyfold and many maners sum  
tyme God spekinge to fadris in pro-  
phetis, at the laste in thes daies spak  
to us in the sone: whom he ordeynede  
eyr of alle thingis, by whom he made  
and the worldis. The which whanne  
he is the schynynge of glorie and  
figure of his substaunce, and berynge  
alle thingis bi word of his vertu,  
makynge purgacioun of synnes, sittith  
on the righthalf of mageste in high  
thingis; so moche maad betere than  
aungelis, by how moche he hath in-  
herited a more different, *or excellent*,  
name bifore hem.

## LATER VERSION

## ISAIAH XXXV. 1-6

The forsakun *Judee* and with outen  
weie schal be glad, and wildirnisse  
shal make ful out ioye, and schal  
floure as a lillie. It buriownynge  
shal buriowne, and it glad and prei-  
singe schal make ful out ioie. The  
glorie of Liban is yowun to it, the  
fairnesse of Carmele and of Saron;  
thei schulen se the glorie of the Lord,  
and the fairnesse of oure God. Coum-  
forte ye comelid hondis, and make ye  
strong feble knees. Seie ye, men of  
litil coumfort, be ye coumfortid, and  
nyle ye drede; lo! oure God schal  
brynge the veniaunce of yelding, God  
hym silf schal come, and schal saue  
us. Thanne the iyen of blynde men  
schulen be openyd, and the eeris of  
deef men schulen be opyn. Thanne  
a crokid man schal skippe as an hert,  
and the tunge of doumbe men schal  
be openyd; for whi watris ben  
brokun out in desert, and stremes in  
wildirnisse.

## HEBREWS i. 1-4

God, that spak sum tyme bi pro-  
phetis in many maneres to oure fadris,  
at the laste in these daies he hath  
spoke to us bi the sone; whom he  
hath ordeyned eir of alle thingis, and  
bi whom he made the worldis. Which  
whanne also he is the brightnesse of  
glorie, and figure of his substaunce  
and berith all thingis bi word of his  
vertu, he makyth purgacioun of synnes  
and syttith on the righthalf of the  
maieste in heuenes; and so much is  
maad betere than aungels, bi hou  
myche he hath enherited a more dy-  
uerse name bifor hem.

Such is the first complete English Bible, the first Bible which we know to have circulated among the common people of England. Many of the copies which now remain testify that they were intended for private use. They are not large and well-written volumes, such as would be placed in libraries or read to a congregation. Such copies there were, indeed—volumes which were found in kings' houses and in monastic libraries, as we shall see

presently; but those of which we are now speaking are small, closely written copies, with no ornamentation, such as a man would have for his own reading and might carry in his pocket. In this form the Bible reached those who could not read Latin. It had indeed travelled a long way. It was no careful rendering of an accurately studied and revised Greek text, such as we have today. The original Greek had been translated into Latin long centuries before; the Latin had become corrupted and had been revised and translated anew by St. Jerome; St. Jerome's version had become corrupted in its turn, and had suffered many things of editors and copyists; and from copies of this corrupted Latin the English translation of Hereford and Purvey had been made. Still, through all these changes and chances, the substance of the Holy Scriptures remained the same; and, with whatever imperfections, the entire Bible was now accessible to the English in their own language, through the zeal and inspiration of John Wycliffe.

*Is the Wycliffite Bible really Wycliffe's?*

So, at least, it has always been held; and it is only because erroneous statements, once issued, may continue to mislead if not constantly corrected that it is necessary to refer to the assertion put forward in 1894 by the well-known Roman Catholic scholar Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) F. A. Gasquet to the effect that the Wycliffite Bible is not Wycliffe's at all, but is the work of his bitterest opponents, the bishops of the English Church who represented the party of Rome.

*Theory that it was an Authorized Version Issued by the Bishops*

Gasquet's main arguments are as follows: (1) The evidence connecting Wycliffe with an English version of the Bible is very slight; (2) the hostility of the bishops to an English Bible has been much exaggerated, and there is no sign that the possession or use of such a Bible was commonly made a subject of inquiry in the examinations of Wycliffe's adherents; (3) the character of the extant copies, and the rank and known opinions of their original owners, are such as to be inconsistent with the idea that they were the work of a poor and proscribed sect, as the Wycliffites are represented to have been; (4) there are indications of the existence of an authorized translation of the Bible at this period, and this we must conclude to be the version which has come down to us. The Bible of Wycliffe, if it ever existed, must have been completely destroyed.

*Examination of this Theory*

Now on the first of these points, Dr. Gasquet seems to ignore the strength of the evidence which connects Wycliffe and his supporters, not merely with *a* translation of the Bible, but with *these* translations. That they were responsible for *a* translation is proved by the contemporary evidence of Archbishop Arundel, Knyghton, and a decree of the Council held at Oxford in 1408—all witnesses hostile to the Wycliffites. If that translation is not the one commonly known as the Wycliffite Bible, then no trace of it exists at present, which is in itself improbable. But of the actually extant translations, the Old Testament in the earlier version, as we have seen, is shown to be the work of Nicholas Hereford by the evidence of the note in the Oxford manuscript; while the later version is obviously based upon the earlier, and was, moreover, certainly the work of someone who held identical views with Purvey; further, in a manuscript of the earlier version at Dublin Purvey's own name is written as the owner, and (what is more important) the Prologues to the several books commonly found in the later version have been inserted in Purvey's own writing. Dr. Gasquet says, "whether Hereford or Purvey possibly may have had any part in the translation does not so much concern us"; but he cannot seriously mean to maintain that an authorized version of the English Bible, existing (as on his theory it existed) in direct opposition to the Wycliffite Bible, could itself be the work of Hereford and Purvey, the two most conspicuous adherents and companions of Wycliffe. Moreover, the last words of the Preface to the revised version show that the author did not know how his work might be received by those in power, and looked forward to the possibility of being called upon to endure persecution for it: "God graunte to us alle grace to kunne [understand] wel and kepe wel holi writ, and suffre ioiefulli sum payne for it at the laste." This evidence, taken together with the proved connexion of Hereford and Purvey with the extant translation, is sufficient to establish that it is, as has always been believed, the Wycliffite Bible.

Still more disastrously does Gasquet's case break down in respect of his assertion that there is no evidence that Wycliffe's followers were persecuted for the possession of the Scriptures in English; for in fact the depositions of the witnesses against the Lollards (as Wycliffe's followers were called) repeatedly make mention of the possession of vernacular Bibles. Dr. Gasquet finally ruined his case by referring to the prosecution of Richard



Hun in 1514. He admits that Hun was charged with the possession of a vernacular Bible, the Prologue to which contained heretical errors; but he affirms that "we shall look in vain in the edition of Wycliffite Scriptures published by Forshall and Madden for any trace of these errors". He maintains therefore that the Bible for the possession of which Hun was prosecuted was not that which we know as Wycliffe's. It is to be feared that Gasquet had not himself looked at the edition to which he refers; for there, in the preface to the second Wycliffite Bible, which we know as Purvey's, are precisely the statements which are cited verbatim in the charges against Hun. If Dr. Gasquet had read it, he could not possibly have attributed to the official heads of the English Church a translation, the prologue to which speaks of "the pardouns of the bisschopis of Rome, that ben opin leesingis", and affirms that "to eschewe pride and speke onour of God and of his lawe, and reprove synne bi weie of charite, is matir and cause now whi prelatis and summe lordis sclanndren men, and clepen hem lollardis, eretikis, and riseris of debate and of treson agens the king". There can in fact be no doubt that the Bibles which we possess are in fact the translation produced by Wycliffe and his followers, and are those for the possession of which they were condemned by some at least of the heads of the English Church.<sup>1</sup>

The whole suggestion is in truth a mare's nest, probably due to the fact that Dr. Gasquet, at the time when he first promulgated it, was daily passing, on his way to the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, a handsome copy of the earlier Wycliffite Bible, which had once been the property of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of Richard II. Dr. Gasquet was fully justified in emphasizing the fact that copies of this Bible are known to have been in the possession of members of the Royal Family, such as Henry VI, Henry VII and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and of many religious houses, which were never charged with heresy on that account. But the fact is that the persecution of the Lollards was partial and intermittent. Much of it was due to the activity of particular bishops, such as Archbishop Arundel, under whose influence a Provincial Council at Oxford in 1408 forbade the production of any translation of the Scriptures into English, or any use of the translation lately composed in the time of John Wycliffe; but not all the bishops were of

<sup>1</sup> Gasquet's article, originally printed in the *Dublin Review* (July 1894), was reprinted in his volume, *The Old English Bible* (1897). The most complete and fully documented refutation of it was in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January 1901.

Arundel's way of thinking. Wycliffe had powerful supporters, notably John of Gaunt and the University of Oxford, so that there would have been no difficulty in the way of the production of fine copies, or their possession by eminent persons. As time went on, moreover, the charge of Lollardism or of heresy probably became weaker. Unless a copy contained Purvey's Prologue (and most of them do not) there was nothing to connect it with Lollardism; and individuals and religious houses may have possessed them in all innocence of heart. It is quite probable that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many people (including the royal owners mentioned above) used them without suspicion of their connexion with Wycliffe. Among them may well have been Sir Thomas More himself (see above, p. 273); otherwise we should have to suppose that the orthodox Bibles of which he speaks, and which he expressly distinguishes from the Bible which caused the condemnation of Richard Hun, have wholly disappeared. It is contrary to all reason to suppose that the condemned Bible has survived in many scores of copies, while the orthodox one has perished without leaving a trace. The only rational explanation is that Sir Thomas More, whose good faith no one would question, was mistaken; that Cardinal Gasquet's revival of his contention was an unfortunate lapse on the part of a scholar who did much good work for Biblical studies; and that the manuscript Bibles of which we have been speaking were in truth the work of John Wycliffe and his disciples, and were the first and only complete Bibles in the English tongue before the invention of printing.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE ENGLISH PRINTED BIBLE

In the fifteenth century, then, the Bible was circulating, to a limited extent, in the Wycliffite translations, tolerated, though not encouraged, by the powers of Church and State; but the middle of the century was barely passed when two events took place which, though totally unconnected with one another, by their joint effects revolutionized the history of the Bible in Western Europe. In May 1453 the Turks stormed Constantinople; and in November 1454 the first dated product of the printing press in Europe was issued to the world.<sup>1</sup> The importance of the latter event is obvious, and has been already explained. Not only did the invention of printing do away, once and for all, with the progressive corruption of texts through the inevitable errors of copyists, but it also rendered it possible to multiply copies to an indefinite extent and to make learning accessible to every man who could read. Knowledge need no longer "rest in moulded heaps" in the monastic libraries, but could freely "melt in many streams to fatten lower lands". All that was required was that men should be found willing and able to make use of the machinery which the discovery of Gutenberg had put into their hands.

It was the other of the two events above recorded which, in great measure, provided the inspiration that was needful in order to make the invention of printing immediately fruitful. The Turkish invasion of Europe, culminating in the capture of Constantinople and the final fall of the Eastern Empire, drove to the West numberless scholars able and willing to teach the Greek language to the people among whom they took refuge. Greek, almost forgotten in Western Europe during many centuries, had always been a living language in the East, and now, journeying westwards, it met a fresh and eager spirit of inquiry, which welcomed joyfully the treasures of the incomparable literature enshrined in that language. Above all, it brought to the West the knowledge of the New Testament in its original tongue; and with the general zeal for knowledge came also a much increased study of Hebrew, which was of equal value for the Old Testament.

<sup>1</sup> There are some fragments of printed editions of the Grammar of Donatus which may be as early as 1450.

Thus at the very moment when the printing press was ready to spread instruction over the world a new learning was springing up, which was only too glad to take advantage of the opportunity thus presented to it.

The revival of learning affected the Bible in three ways. In the first place it led to a multiplication of copies of the then current Bible, the Latin Vulgate. It is said that no less than 124 editions of it were issued before the end of the fifteenth century. Next, and far more important, it produced a study of the Scriptures in their original languages; and though the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts then available were by no means perfect, they at least served to correct and explain the more corrupt Latin. Finally—the point with which we are especially concerned in the present chapter—it promoted a desire to make the Scriptures known to all classes of men directly, and not through the medium of men's instruction; and this could only be done by having the Bible translated in each country into the common language of the people. The earliest vernacular Bibles were not connected with the Reformation controversy. A German Bible was printed at Strassburg by Mentelin in 1466, and eighteen others (besides Psalters and other separate books) appeared before the publication of the first part of Luther's translation in 1522. An Italian Bible was printed at Venice in 1471, and a Dutch one in 1477. A French Bible was printed at Lyons about 1478, and another about 1487. Even in England the greater part of the Bible narrative was available in Caxton's version of the Golden Legend, printed in 1483. But with the outbreak of the Reformation, Bible translation took on a new and controversial aspect. The reformers held that the best method of overthrowing the power of the monasteries and of the Roman Church was to enable the common people to read the Bible for themselves and learn how much of the current teaching of the priest and friar has no basis in the words of Scripture. The leaders of the Roman Church, on the other hand, doubted the advisability of allowing the Scriptures to be read by uneducated or half-educated folk without the accompaniment of oral instruction. With some this was a perfectly honest belief, for which there was much to be said; some, on the other hand, may have known that certain current practices could not be justified out of the Bible; others may have feared that the reformers would introduce heretical teaching into their translations. So it fell out that the struggle of the Reformation period was largely concerned with the question of the translation of the

Bible. In Germany the popular version was made, once and for all, by the great reformer Luther; but in England, where parties were more divided, the translation of the Bible was the work of many years and many hands. In this chapter we shall narrate the history of the successive translations which were made in England, from the invention of printing to the completion of the Authorized Version in 1611, and in conclusion shall give some account of the Revised Version of 1881-5.

### 1. *Tyndale's Bible, 1525*

The true father of the English Bible is William Tyndale, who was born in Gloucestershire about the year 1490. He was educated at Oxford, where he was a member of Magdalen Hall, then a dependency of Magdalen College. Here he may have begun his studies of Biblical interpretation and of the Greek language under the great leaders of the new learning at Oxford, Colet of Magdalen and Grocyn of New College. He graduated as B.A. in 1512, as M.A. in 1515; and at some uncertain date he is said to have gone to Cambridge, probably too late to have found Erasmus there, whose Greek New Testament he was destined to translate. When exactly he decided to devote himself to this task is unknown; but while he was resident tutor in the house of Sir John Walsh, at Little Sodbury in Gloucestershire, between 1520 and 1523, he is recorded to have said, in controversy with an opponent, "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scripture than thou doest."<sup>1</sup> He had hoped that this might be accomplished under the patronage of the leaders of the Church, notably Tunstall, bishop of London, to whom he applied in 1523 for countenance and support. Tunstall, however, refused his application, and although Humphrey Monmouth, an alderman of London, took him into his house for several months, it was not long before Tyndale understood "not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England".

<sup>1</sup> Consciously or otherwise, Tyndale was repeating the sentiments of Erasmus: "I totally disagree with those who are unwilling that the sacred scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue, should be read by private individuals. . . . I wish they were translated into all languages of all peoples, that they might be read and known not merely by the Scotch and Irish, but even by the Turks and Saracens. . . . I wish that the ploughman might sing parts of them at his plough and the weaver at his shuttle, and that the traveller might beguile with their narration the weariness of his way." (Preface to N.T. of 1516).

Accordingly in 1524 he left England and took up his abode in the free city of Hamburg. Here his translation of the New Testament was completed, and in 1525 he transferred himself to Cologne in order to have it printed. Meanwhile rumours of his work had got abroad. He was known to belong to the reforming party; in translating the Bible he was following the example of Luther; he may even have met Luther himself at Wittenburg, which is not far from Hamburg. His translation was probably part of a design to convert England to Lutheranism; and clearly it must not be allowed to go forward if it were possible to stop it. The secret of the printing was, however, well kept; and it was not until the printing had made considerable progress that Cochläus, an active enemy of the Reformation, obtained the clue to it. Hearing boasts from certain printers at Cologne of the revolutions that would shortly be made in England, he invited them to his house; and having made them drunk, he learnt that 3,000 copies of an English translation were being printed, and that some ten sheets of it had already been struck off. Having, in this truly creditable manner, obtained the information he required, he at once set the authorities of the town in motion to stop the work; but Tyndale secured the printed sheets and fled with them to Worms. At Worms he not only finished the edition partly printed at Cologne, which was in small quarto form and accompanied by marginal notes (or, as some think without much reason, printed a similar edition *de novo*), but also, knowing that a description of this edition had been sent by Cochläus to England, in order that its importation might be stopped, had another edition struck off in octavo form and without notes. The printer was Peter Schoeffer.

Both editions were completed in 1525, which may consequently be regarded as the birth-year of the English printed Bible, though it was probably not until the beginning of 1526 that the first copies reached this country. Money for the work had been found by a number of English merchants, and by their means the copies were secretly conveyed into England, where they were eagerly bought and read on all sides. The leaders of the Church, however, declared against the translation from the first. Archbishop Warham, a good man and a scholar, issued a mandate for its destruction. Tunstall preached against it, declaring that he could produce 3,000 errors in it. Sir Thomas More wrote against it with much bitterness, charging it with wilful mistranslation of ecclesiastical terms with heretical intent. The book was solemnly burnt in

London at Paul's Cross, and the bishops subscribed money to buy up all copies obtainable from the printers; a proceeding which Tyndale accepted with equanimity, since the money thus obtained enabled him to proceed with the work of printing a revised edition.<sup>1</sup> At the same time one reprint of the New Testament after another was issued by Dutch printers, and, in spite of all efforts of the bishops, copies continued to pour into England as fast as they were destroyed.

The English New Testament was thus irrevocably launched upon the world; yet so keen was the search for copies, both then and afterwards, and so complete the destruction of them, that barely a trace of these earliest editions remains today. Of the quarto edition, begun at Cologne and ended at Worms, only one solitary fragment exists, comprising eight out of the ten leaves printed at Cologne, with the text of Matt. i. 1-xxii. 12. It is now in the Grenville collection in the British Museum, and from it is taken the half-page reproduced in Plate XLIII, showing the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount. Of the octavo, one perfect copy exists in the library of the Baptist College at Bristol,<sup>2</sup> another, imperfect, in St. Paul's Cathedral. This is all that is left of the 6,000 copies which Tyndale is said to have printed in 1525 at Worms, while of all the editions that followed up to 1534 no fragment has survived.

<sup>1</sup> The account of this transaction given by the old chronicler Hall is very quaint. After describing how a merchant named Packington, friendly to Tyndale, introduced himself to Tunstall and offered to buy up copies of the New Testament for him, he proceeds thus: "The Bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, when indeed he had the devil by the fist, said, 'Gentle Mr. Packington, do your diligence and get them; and with all my heart I will pay for them whatsoever they cost you, for the books are erroneous and nought, and I intend surely to destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross.' Packington came to William Tyndale and said, 'William, I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of New Testaments and books by thee, for the which thou hast both endangered thy friends and beggared thyself, and I have now gotten thee a merchant which, with ready money, shall despatch thee of all that thou hast, if you think it so profitable for yourself.' 'Who is the merchant?' said Tyndale. 'The Bishop of London,' said Packington. 'Oh, that is because he will burn them,' said Tyndale. 'Yea, marry,' quoth Packington. 'I am the gladder,' said Tyndale, 'for these two benefits shall come thereof: I shall get money to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world will cry out against the burning of God's Word; and the overplus of the money that shall remain to me shall make me more studious to correct the said New Testament, and so newly to imprint the same once again, and I trust the second will much better like you than ever did the first.' And so forward went the bargain, the Bishop had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money."

<sup>2</sup> This copy was discovered in 1740 by an agent of the Earl of Oxford, who bestowed on the fortunate discoverer an annuity of £20.

Tyndale's New Testament differs from all those that preceded it in being a translation from the original Greek, and not from the Latin. He made use of such other materials as were available to assist his judgment—namely, the Vulgate, the Latin translation which Erasmus published along with his Greek text, and the German translation of Luther; but these were only subordinate aids, and his main authority was unquestionably the Greek text which had been published by Erasmus in 1516 and revised in 1522. This was a new departure, and some of the 'mistakes' which Tunstall and others professed to find in Tyndale's work may have been merely cases in which the Greek gave a different sense from the Latin to which they were accustomed. The amount of actual errors in translation would not appear to be at all such as to justify the extremely hostile reception which the leaders of the Church gave to the English Bible. More may or may not have been right in holding that the old ecclesiastical terms, such as "church", "priest", "charity", round which the association of centuries had gathered, should not be set aside in favour of "congregation", "senior", "love", and the like: there is much to be said on both sides of the question; but certainly this was no just reason for proscribing the whole translation and assailing its author. Nor can such treatment be explained on the ground of Tyndale's marginal comments, controversial though they unquestionably were, and, in part, derived from those of Luther; for measures were taken to suppress the book before its actual appearance, and the proscription was not confined to the quarto, which alone contained the comments, but was extended to the octavo, in which the sacred text stood by itself. The reception which the heads of the English Church, Henry VIII included, gave to Tyndale's Testament can only be attributed to a dislike of the very existence of an English Bible.

Tyndale's labours did not cease with the appearance of his New Testament. His hope was to complete the translation of the whole Bible; and although other works, chiefly of a controversial character, occupied some portion of his time, he now set himself to work on the Old Testament. The first instalment occupied him for four years, and in 1530 the Pentateuch, translated from the original Hebrew and accompanied by strongly controversial marginal notes, was printed at Marburg. The five books must have been separately printed, since Genesis and Numbers are printed in black letter, and the others in Roman (or ordinary) type; but there is no sufficient evidence of separate publication. Only one



perfect copy of this edition is known, in the British Museum. The Pentateuch was followed in 1531 by the book of Jonah, of which also only one copy is now known to exist, likewise in the British Museum. But Tyndale had not said his last word on the New Testament. Like a good scholar, he was as fully aware as his critics could be that his version admitted of improvement, and he undertook a full and deliberate revision of it, striving especially after a more exact correspondence with the Greek. The publication of his labours was hastened by the appearance of an unauthorized revision in 1534, the work of one George Joye. Since the original publication in 1526, the printers of Antwerp had been issuing successive reprints of it, each less correct than its predecessor, and at last Joye had consented to revise a new edition for the press. Joye had taken Tyndale's version, altered it considerably, especially by comparison with the Latin Vulgate, had introduced variations of translation in accordance with his own theological opinions, and had published the whole without any indication of a change of authorship. Tyndale was justly indignant at this act of combined piracy and fraud; but his best antidote was found in the publication of his own revised edition in the autumn of the same year. It is this edition of 1534, printed at Antwerp, which is the true climax of Tyndale's work on the New Testament. The text had been diligently corrected; Introductions were prefixed to each book; the marginal commentary was rewritten in a less controversial spirit; and at the end of the volume were appended certain extracts from the Old Testament which were read as 'Epistles' in the Church services for certain days of the year.

With the appearance of this edition Tyndale's work was practically at an end. The battle was substantially won; for although he himself was held in no greater favour in England than before, the feeling against an English Bible had considerably abated, and the quarrel with Rome had reached an open rupture. As early as 1530 an assembly convoked by Archbishop Warham, while repeating the official condemnation of Tyndale, announced that the king would have the New Testament faithfully translated "as soon as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt and convenient to receive the same". By 1535 Cromwell and Cranmer were convinced of the desirability of having the Bible translated by authority; and Tyndale was able to present a magnificent copy of his new edition to Queen Anne Boleyn,<sup>1</sup> who had constantly favoured the undertaking of the English Bible. But the

<sup>1</sup> This copy is now in the British Museum.



daemoniaco in medio  
 exiit ab illo nihilque  
 illud nocuit  
 et actus est pauidus in omnibus  
 et conloquebantur  
 ad invicem dicentes  
 quod est hoc uerbum  
 quia in potestate et uirtute  
 imperat spiritibus  
 inmundis et excedunt  
 et diuulcabatur facta de illo  
 in omnem locum regionis  
 Surgens autem de synagoga  
 introiit in domum simonis  
 socius autem simonis  
 tenebatur tunc febribus  
 et rocauerunt illud pro ea  
 et stans super illam impera-  
 uit febre et dimisit illam  
 et continuo surgens  
 ministrabat illis  
 Cum sol autem occidisset  
 omnes qui habebant infir-  
 mos uariis languoribus  
 ducebant illos ad eum  
 et illes singulis manus im-  
 ponens curabat eos  
 Exiebant etiam daemonia  
 et multi clamantia et di-  
 centia quia tu es filius dei  
 et increpans non sinebat  
 ea loqui

xv  
 L. m. m. m.  
 gogis galilaeae  
 factum est autem cum  
 turbae intruerent in eum  
 ut audirent uerbum dei  
 et ipse stabat secus stagnum  
 cenesareth  
 et uidit duas naues stantes  
 secus stagnum  
 piscatores autem discende-  
 rant et laxabant retia  
 ascendens autem in unam  
 nauem quae erat  
 simonis  
 rogauit autem a terra  
 reducere pusillum  
 et sedens docebat  
 de nauicula turbas  
 et processit autem loqui  
 dixit ad simonem  
 duc in altum et laxa retia  
 uestra in capturam  
 et respondens simon  
 dixit illi  
 praceptor per totam  
 noctem laborantes  
 nihil cepimus  
 in uerbo autem tuo  
 laxabo rete  
 et cum hoc fecissent  
 concluderunt piscium  
 multitudinem copiosam  
 rumpebatur autem rete cor-

Codex Amiatinus—circa 715

Laurentian Library, Florence

(Actual size of complete page 19½ in. × 13½ in.)





The Lindisfarne Gospels—circa 690  
*British Museum*  
 (Actual size 13½ in. × 10 in.)

dm̄ qm̄ dī prior dilex̄ nos. Siquis dixerit qm̄ di-  
ligodm̄ et fratrē suū oderit mendax ē. Quia uñ non  
diliget fratrē suū quē uidet. dm̄ quē non uidet quomo-  
do potest diligere. Et hoc mandatū adō habemus ut  
qui diligit dm̄ diligat et fratrem suum.

**O**mnis qui credit qm̄ ihs ē xps̄ ex dōnatus ē et omnis  
qui diligit eū qui genuit diligit eū qui natus ē ex dō  
In hoc cognouimus qm̄ diligimus natos dī cū dm̄ dili-  
gamus et mandata eius faciamus. Hæc ē enī caritas  
dī ut mandata eius custodiamus. Et mandata eius  
grauia non sunt qm̄ omne quod natū ē ex dō uincit  
mundū. Et hæc ē uictoria quæ uincit mundū fides  
nr̄a. Quis ē qui uincit mundū nisi qui credit qm̄ ihs ē  
filius dī. hic ē qui uenit per aquā et sanguine ihs  
xps̄. non in aquā solū sed in aquā et sanguine. Et sp̄s  
est qui testificatur qm̄ xps̄ ē ueritas. qm̄ tres sunt  
qui testimoniu dāt. sp̄s aqua et sanguis. et tres unū sunt.

**S**i testimoniu hominū accipimus testimoniu dī maius  
est. qm̄ hoc ē testimoniu dī quod maius ē qui testa-  
ficatus ē de filio suo. Qui credit in filiū dī habet tes-  
timoniū dī in se. qui non credit filio mendacem facit  
eum qm̄ non credit in testimonio quod testificatus ē  
dī de filio suo. Et hoc testimoniu ē qm̄ uitā æternā  
dedit nobis dī. Et hæc uita in filio eius ē. qui habet fi-  
liū habet uitā. qui non habet filiū dī non habet uitā.

**H**æc scribo uobis ut sciatis qm̄ uitā habetis æternā  
qui creditis in nomine filii dī. Et hæc ē fiducia quā



**I**mpet libet delecti que nos Gen  
 A principio creauit deus celum et terram.  
 et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et  
 uacua: et tenebre erant super faciem abyssi:  
 et spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas.  
 Dixitque deus. Fiat lux. Et facta est lux.  
 Et uidit deus lucem quod esset bona: et  
 diuisit lucem a tenebris. appellauitque  
 lucem diem et tenebras noctem. factum  
 est uesper et mane dies unus. Dixit  
 quoque deus. Fiat firmamentum in me-  
 dio aquarum: et diuidat aquas ab a-  
 quis. Et fecit deus firmamentum: diui-  
 sitque aquas que erant sub firmamen-  
 to ab his que erant super firmamen-  
 tum: et factum est ita. Vocauitque deus  
 firmamentum celum: et factum est uesper  
 et mane dies secundus. Dixit uero de-  
 us. Congregentur aque que sub celo  
 sunt in locum unum et appareat arida.  
 Et factum est ita. Et uocauit deus aridam  
 terram: congregauitque aquas  
 appellauit maria. Et uidit deus quod es-  
 set bonum. et ait. Producat terra herbam  
 uirentem et facientem fructum: et lignum  
 pomiferum faciens fructum iuxta genus  
 suum: cuius fructus in semetipso sit super  
 terram. Et factum est ita. Et produxit  
 terra herbam uirentem et legumen se-  
 men iuxta genus suum: lignumque faciens  
 fructum et habens uniuersos fructus boni  
 specie sua. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum:  
 et factum est uesper et mane dies tertius.  
 Dixitque deus. Fiant luminaria  
 in firmamento celum: et diuidat diem ac  
 noctem: sint in signa et tempora et dies et  
 annos: ut luceat in firmamento celum et  
 illuminet terram. Et factum est ita. Fecitque  
 deus duo luminaria magna: luminare ma-  
 ius ut presteret diem et luceret mino-  
 ri ut presteret noctem: et posuit eas in  
 firmamento celum ut lucerent super terram: et

presteret diem ac noctem: et diuideret lucem  
 ac tenebras. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum:  
 et factum est uesper et mane dies quartus.  
 Dixit namque deus. Producant aque  
 reptile animae uiuentis et uolante super  
 terram: sub firmamento celum. Et creauit  
 deus cetera grandia: et omne animam ui-  
 uentem aem: mirabilem quam produxe-  
 rant aque in speciem suam: et omne uo-  
 lante secundum genus suum. Et uidit de-  
 us quod esset bonum: benedixitque et dixit.  
 Crescite et multiplicamini: et replete a-  
 quas maris: et cetera: multiplicemini super  
 terram. Et factum est uesper et mane  
 dies quintus. Dixit quoque deus. Pro-  
 ducant terra animam uiuentem in gene-  
 re suo: iumenta et reptilia et bestias ter-  
 re secundum speciem suam. factum est ita. Et  
 fecit deus bestias terre iuxta speciem su-  
 am: iumenta et omne reptile terre in ge-  
 nere suo. Et uidit deus quod esset bonum:  
 et ait. Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et  
 similitudinem nostram: et prestat prelatibus maris  
 et uolantibus celum et bestijs uiuentibus  
 omni: reptili quod mouetur in terra. Et crea-  
 uit deus hominem ad imaginem et simi-  
 litudinem suam: ad imaginem dei crea-  
 uit illum: masculum et feminam creauit eos.  
 Benedixitque illis deus. et ait. Crescite  
 et multiplicamini et replete terram: et  
 subiacet eam: et dominamini piscibus  
 maris: et uolantibus celum: et uniuersis  
 animantibus que mouentur super terram.  
 Dixitque deus. Ecce dedi uobis omnem  
 herbam afferentem fructum super terram:  
 et uniuersa ligna que habent in semetipsis  
 fructum generis sui: ut sint uobis in escam  
 et cunctis animantibus terre: omni: uoluci  
 celi et uniuersis que mouentur in terra: et i  
 quibus est anima uiuens: ut habent ad  
 uescendum. Et factum est ita. Viditque deus  
 cuncta que fecerat: et erat ualde bona.

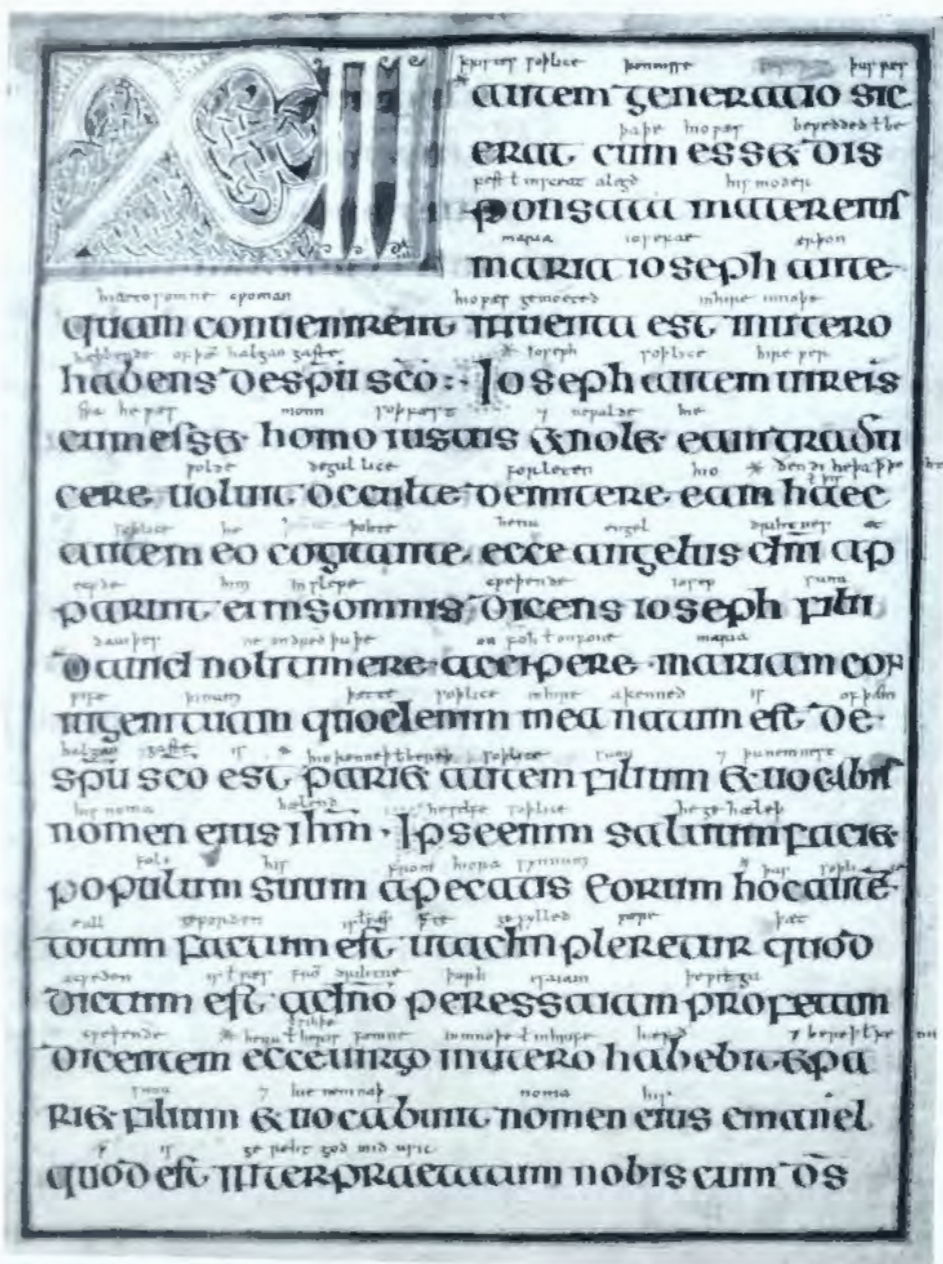
iacob de iohanne. & ego nesciebam. Pauensq; quam terribilis est inquit. locus iste. Nō est hic aliud nisi domus dei: & porta celi. Surgēs ergo iacob mane. tulit lapidem quem supposuerat capiti suo. & erexit in titulū: fundens oleum desup. Appellauitq; nomē vrbis betel: que prius luza vocabatur. Voui etiam votum dicēs. Si fuerit dñs mecum. & custodierit in via per quam ego ambulo. & dederit mihi panem ad vescendum. & vestimentum ad induendum reuersusq; fuero pspere ad domū patris mei erit mihi dominus in deum. & lapis iste quē erexi in titulum. vocabitur domus dei: cūcto rūq; que dederis mihi. decimas offerā tibi.

Capitulum. xxix.

**P**rofectus ergo iacob. venit i terram orientalem: & vidit puteum in agro tres q; greges ouīū accumbentes iuxta eum. Nam ex illo adaquabātur pecora: & os eius grandi lapide claudebat. Mosq; erat vt cunctis ouibus congregatis deuoluerent lapidem: & reffectis gregibus rursum super os putei ponerēt. Dixitq; ad pastores Fratres vnde estis? Qui responderunt. De aran. Quos interrogans: nunquid ait nostis laban filium nachor? Dixerunt. Nouimus. Sanus ne est inquit? Valet inquit: & ecce Rachel filia eius venit cum grege suo. Dixit

me. Seruiuit ergo iacob pro Rachel septem annis: & videbāt illi pauci dies p amoris magnitudie. Dixitq; ad labā. Da mihi vxorē meam. quia iam tempus expletum est vt ingrediar ad illam. Qui vocatis multis amicorum turbis ad conuiuium. fecit nuptias: & vespere liam filiam suam introduxit ad eum: dans ancillam filie zelphā nomine. Ad quam cum ex more iacob fuisset ingressus. facto mane vidit liam: & dixit ad socerū suum. Quid est quod facere voluisti? Nonne p Rachel seruiui tibi? quare imposuisti mihi? Respondit laban. Non est in loco nostro consuetudinis: vt minores ante tradam⁹ ad nuptias. Imple ebdomodam dierum huius copule: & hanc q; dabo tibi. p opere quo seruitur⁹ es mihi septem annis aliis. Acqueuit placito: & ebdomoda trāfacta Rachel duxit vxorem. Cui pater seruam balā tradiderat. Tandemq; potius optatis nuptiis. amorem sequentis poripretulit: seruēs apud eum septē annis aliis. Videns autem dñs q; despiceret liā. aperuit vuluam eius: sorore sterili pmanēte. Que cōceptum genuit filium: vocauitq; nomē eius ruben dicens. Vidit dominus humilitatē meam. Nunc amabit me vir meus. Rursūq; cōcepit: & peperit filiū & ait. Quoniā audiuit me dominus haberi contemptui: dedit etiā

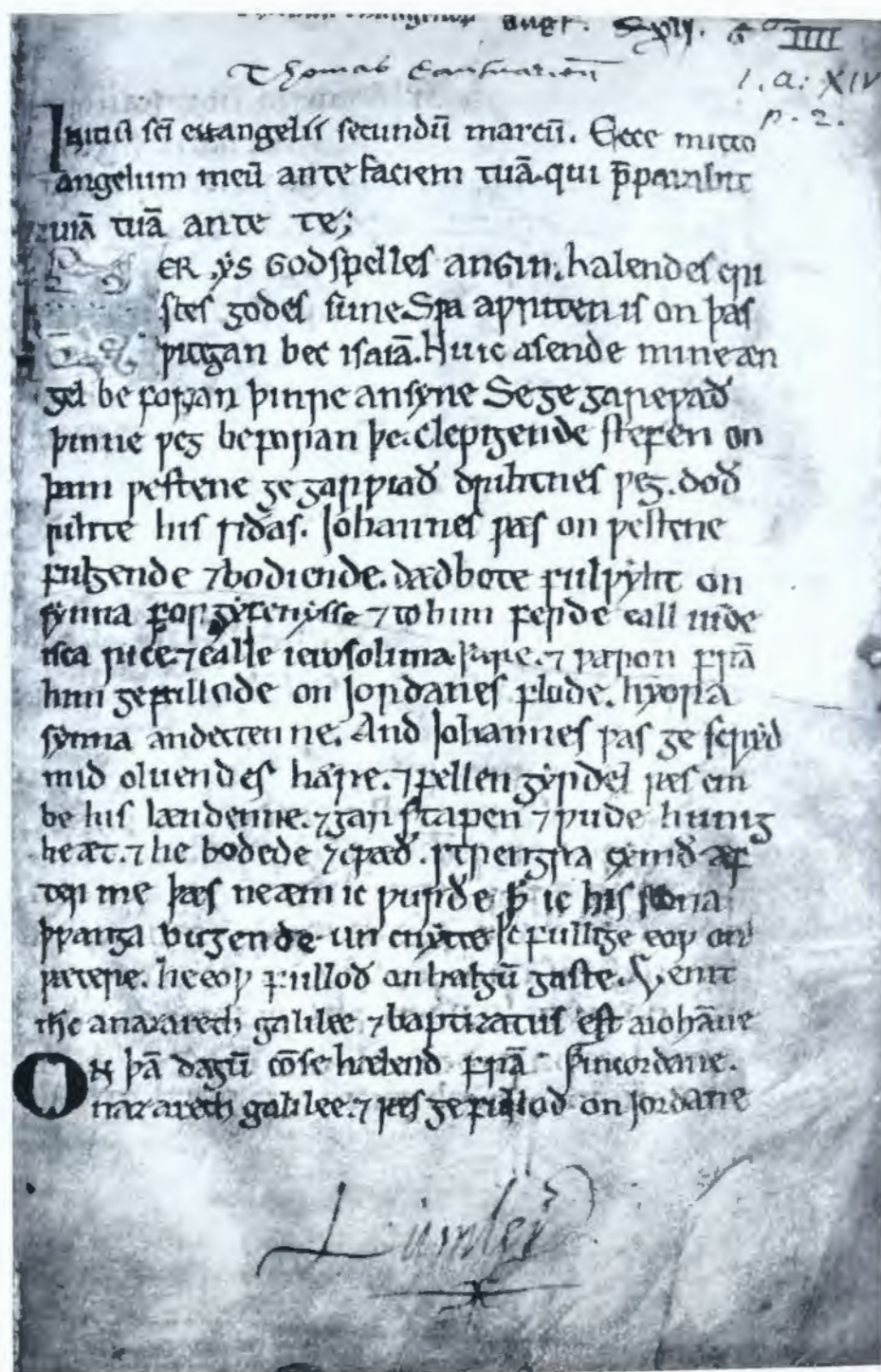




The Rushworth Gospels - eighth century, with tenth century Interlinear Gloss

Bodleian Library  
(Actual size 14½ in. x 11 in.)





English Gospels—early twelfth century

British Museum

(Actual size 8½ in. × 5½ in.)







## The fyfth Chapter.

4. vi.



**W**hen he sawe the people / he  
went vp into a mountaine / and wen he was sett /  
hys disciples cam vnto him / and he opened his  
mouth / and taught them sayinge: Blessed are the  
povre in sperte: for there is the kyngdom of heven. Blessed  
are they that mourne: for they shalbe comforted. Blessed are  
the meke: for they shall inheret the erthe. Blessed are they  
which hūger and thursti for rightewesnes: for they shalbe fyl-  
led. Blessed are the mercifull: for they shall obteyne mercy.  
Blessed are the pure in hert: for they shall se god. Bless-  
ed are the maynteyners of peace: for they shalbe callid  
the chyldren of god. Blessed are they which suffre persecucion  
for rightewesnes sake: for there is the kyngdom of heven.  
Blessed are ye whē mens hall revyle you / and persecute you /  
and shal falsly saye all manner of evle sayings agaynst you  
for my sake. Be ioyce and be gladde / for greate is youre rewar-  
de in heven. For so persecuted they the prophett which were  
before youre dayes.

All these dedes  
here rehearsed as  
to northe peace /  
to shewe mercy /  
to suffre psecucio /  
and so forth / ma-  
ke not a man hap-  
pye and blessed /  
neither deserve to  
he reward of hes-  
ven: but declare  
and testifie that  
we archappy and  
blessede and that  
we shall have gre-  
ate pmoctio i hes-  
ven. and certify-  
eth vs i oure herts  
that we are  
goddess sonnes / &  
that the holy gos-  
t is in vs. for all  
good thynges are  
geven to vs frely  
of god for christes  
bloudes sake and  
his merittes

¶

Tyndale's New Testament - 1525

(Not reduced; actual size of whole page 7½ in. x 5½ in.)



# The first booke of Moyses, called Genesis. Fo. i.

The first dayes worke.

The seconde dayes worke.

The thirde dayes worke.



The fourth dayes worke.

The fifth dayes worke.

The sixte dayes worke.



## The first Chapter.

2  
Eli. a. d.  
necl. 18. a.  
lere. 10. b.  
Heb. 11. a.  
Eli. 44. c.



And God sayde: let there be light, and there was light. And God sawe the light that it was good. Then God denyded the light from the darkness, and called the light, Day: and the darkness, Night. Then of the evening and morning was made the first daye.

At the begynnyng God created heaven and earth: and the earth was voyde and emptye, and darkness was upon the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the water.

And God sayde: let there be a firmament betwene the waters, and let it bevyde the waters under the firmament, and parted the waters under the firmament, from the waters above the firmament: And so it came to passe. And God called the firmament, Heaven. Then of the evening and morning was made the seconde daye.

And God sayde: let the waters under heaven gather the selues vnto one place, and the drye lande maye appeare. And so it came to passe. And God called the drye lande, Earth: and the gatheringe together of waters called he, Sea. And God sawe that it was good.

And God sayde: let the earth bringe forth grene grasse and herbe, that beareth seede: and fruitefull trees, that maye beare fruite, every one after his kinde, bringinge their owne seede in them selves upon the earth. And so it came to passe. And the earth brought forth grene grasse and herbe, that beareth seede every one after his kinde, and trees bearing fruite, and

Iob 36. b.  
Pro. 3. c.





The Great Bible - 1539  
 (Actual size 13½ in. × 9½ in.)

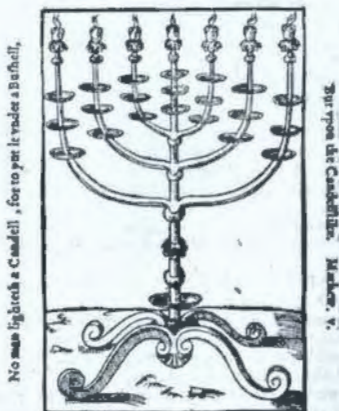
THE  
NEWE TESTAMENT OF  
OVR LORD IESVS  
CHRIST.

•••

Conferred diligently vvith the Greke, and best approued  
translacions in diuers languages.

*This is the message vvhiche vve haue heard of him, and declare vnto  
you, that God is the light, and in him is no darkenes.*

IOHN. I. VER. 1.



*If vve vvalk in the light as he is in the light, vve haue felovvship one  
vvith another, and the blood of Iesus Christ clenseth vs from  
all sinne. Iohn. I. Ver. 7.*

PRINTED AT GENEVA.

M. D. LXI.





# THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE HEBREVVES.

Let the Christian Reader note the corruption and impudens boldness of our Adversaries, that upon a false private pretension of their writing that S. Paul was not the author of this Epistle, raptions have not his name in the title of the same, contrary to the authenticall copies both Greek and Latin. In old time there was some doubt who should be the owner of it, but then, when it was no less doubted whether it were Canonical Scripture at all. Afterward the whole Church (by which easily we know the true Scriptures from other writings) held it and delivered it, as now the doth, to the faithful, for Canonical, and for S. Paul's Epistle. Notwithstanding the Adversaries would have refused the Epistle, as well as they do the Author, but that they falsely imagine certain places thereof to make against the Sacrifice of the Masse.

## CHAP. I.

God speaks to these fathers by the Prophets: but to these fathers by his own Son, as these incomparably perfect all the Angels.

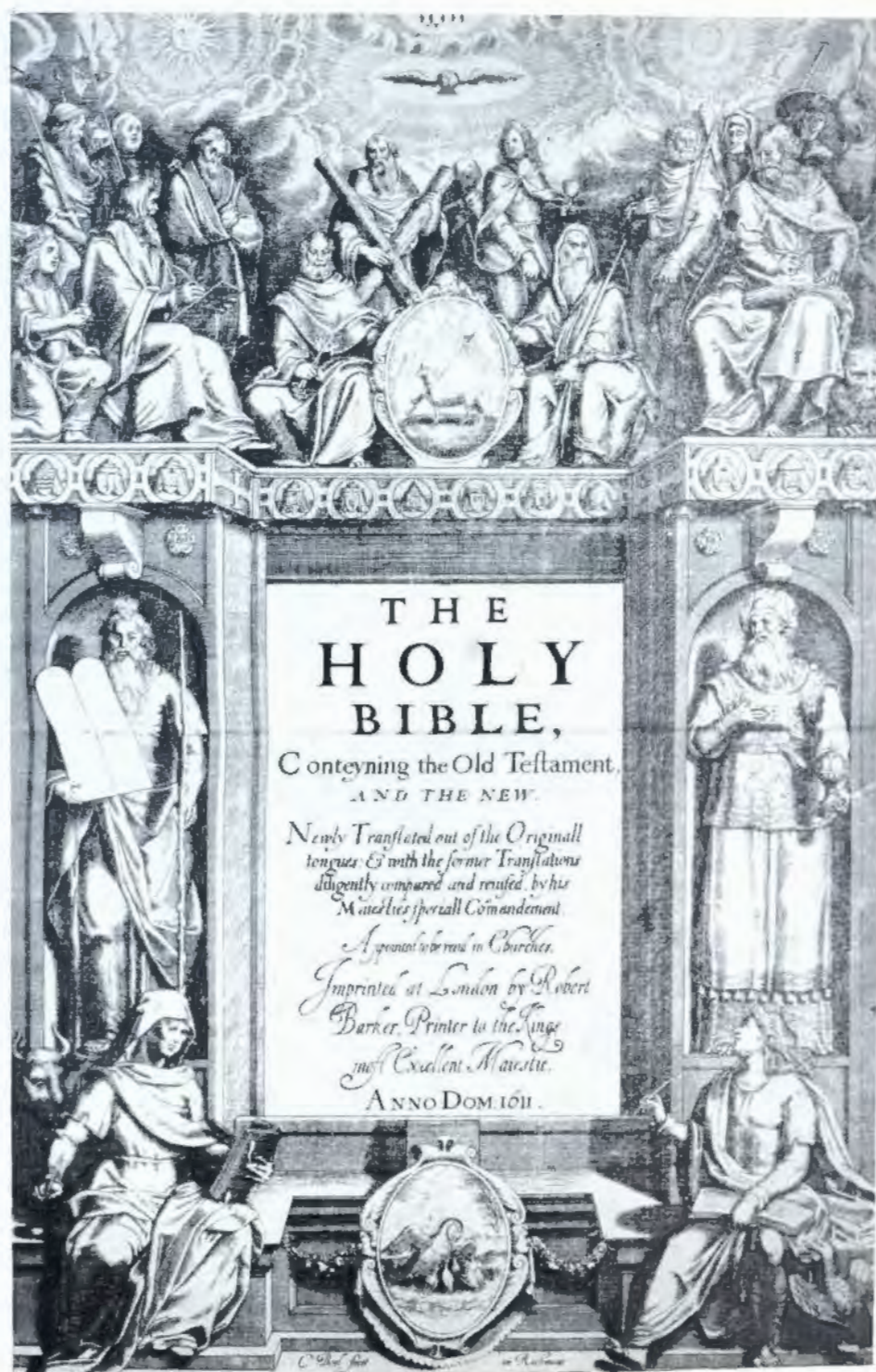


**D**IVERSELY and many vvaies in times past God (speaking to the fathers in the prophets: 1 last of all in these daies hath spoken to vs in his Sonne, vvhom he hath appointed heire of all, by vvhom he made also the vvorldes. 1\* Vvho being the brightnesse of his glorie, and the figure of his substance, & carying all things by the vvord of his pover, making purgation of sinnes, sitteth on the right hand of the Maiestie in the high places: 1 being made so much better then Angels, as he hath inherited a more excellent name about them.

1 For to vvhich of the Angels hath he said at any time, 1  
2 Thou art my sonne, to day have I begotten thee: and againe, 1 vvill be to him  
3 a father, and he shall be to me a sonne. 1 And vvhen againe he bringeth  
4  
5  
6

G g g g g





The Authorized Version - 1611

enmity of the Romanist party against Tyndale himself was not abated; and his labour for the diffusion of God's Word was destined to receive the crown of martyrdom. He was now residing at Antwerp, a free city, and was safe as an inmate of the 'English House', an established home of English merchants in that city. But in 1535 a traitor, named Henry Philips, wormed himself into his confidence and used his opportunity to betray him into the hands of some officers of the Emperor Charles V, by whom he was kidnapped and carried out of the city. The real promoters of this shameful plot have never been known. It is certain that Philips was well supplied with money, which must have come from the Romanist party, to which he belonged. Henry VIII, who was now at open war with this party, can have had no share in the treachery. The most that can be said against him is that he took no steps to procure Tyndale's release. Cromwell used his influence to some extent; but from the moment of the arrest the prisoner's fate was certain. Charles V had set himself to crush heresy by stringent laws; and there was no doubt that, from Charles's point of view, Tyndale was a heretic. After a long imprisonment at Vilvorde, in Belgium, he was brought to trial, and in October 1536 he suffered martyrdom by strangling at the stake and burning, crying "with a fervent, great, and a loud voice, 'Lord, open the King of England's eyes.'"

Before his arrest Tyndale had once more revised his New Testament, which passed through the press during his imprisonment. This edition, which appeared in 1535, differs little from that of 1534, and the same may be said of other reprints which appeared in 1535 and 1536. These cannot have been supervised by Tyndale himself, and the eccentricities in spelling which distinguish one of them are probably due to Flemish compositors. We shall see in the following pages how his work lived after him, and how his translation is the direct ancestor of our Authorized Version. The genius of Tyndale shows itself in the fact that he was able to couch his translations in a language perfectly understood of the people and yet full of beauty and of dignity. If the language of the Authorized Version has deeply affected our English prose, it is to Tyndale that the praise is originally due. He formed the mould, which subsequent revisers did but modify. A specimen of his work may fitly close our account of him.<sup>1</sup> It is his version of Phil. ii. 5-13 as it appears in the edition of 1534, and readers

<sup>1</sup> Another specimen will be found in Appendix II, where it can be compared with the versions of his successors.

will at once recognize how much of the wording is familiar to us in the rendering of the Authorized Version :

"Let the same mynde be in you the which was in Christ Jesu. Which beyng in the shape of God, and thought yt not robbery to be equal with God. Neverthelesse, he made hymselfe of no reputacion, and toke on him the shape of a servaunte, and becam lyke unto men, and was founde in his apparell as a man. He humbled hym sylfe and becam obedient unto the deeth, even the deeth of the crosse. Wherefore God hath exalted hym, and gyven hym a name above all names, that in the name of Jesus shulde every knee bowe, both of thingis in heven and thingis in erth and thingis under erth, and that all tonges shulde confesse that Jesus Christ is the lorde, unto the prayse of God the father. Wherefore, my dearly beloved : as ye have alwayes obeyed, not when I was present only, but nowe moche more in myne absence, even so performe youre owne health with feare and tremblynge. For yt is God which worketh in you, both the wyll and also the dede, even of good wyll."

## 2. *Coverdale's Bible, 1535*

Tyndale was burnt; but he, with even greater right than Latimer, might say that he had lighted such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as should never be put out. His own New Testament had been rigorously excluded from England, so far as those in authority could exclude it; but the case for which he gave his life was won. Even before his death he might have heard that a Bible, partly founded on his own, had been issued in England under the protection of the highest authorities. In 1534 the Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury had petitioned the king to authorize a translation of the Bible into English, and it was probably at this time that Cranmer proposed a scheme for a joint translation by nine or ten of the most learned bishops and other scholars. Cranmer's scheme came to nothing; but Cromwell, now Secretary of State, incited Miles Coverdale to publish a work of translation on which he had been already engaged. Coverdale had known Tyndale abroad, and is said to have assisted him in his translation of the Pentateuch; but he was no Greek or Hebrew scholar, and his version, which was printed abroad in 1535 (probably, according to the latest expert view, at Marburg) and appeared in England in that year or the next, professed only to be translated from the Dutch (i.e. German) and Latin. Coverdale, a moderate, tolerant, earnest man, claimed no originality, and expressly looked forward to the Bible being more faithfully

presented both "by the ministracion of other that begun it afore" (Tyndale) and by the future scholars who should follow him; but his Bible has two important claims on our interest. Though not expressly authorized, it was undertaken at the wish of Cromwell, and a dedication to Henry VIII, printed apparently by Nycholson of Southwark, was inserted among the prefatory matter of the German-printed sheets, which were no doubt imported unbound. It is thus the first English Bible which circulated in England without let or hindrance from the higher powers. It is also the first complete English printed Bible, since Tyndale had not been able to finish the whole of the Old Testament. A page of it is shown in Plate XLIV. In the Old Testament Coverdale depended mainly on the Swiss-German version published by Zwingli and Leo Juda in 1524-9, though in the Pentateuch he also made considerable use of Tyndale's translation. The New Testament is a careful revision of Tyndale by comparison with the German. It is to Coverdale therefore that our English versions of the poetical and prophetic books are primarily due, and in handling the work of others he showed great skill. Many of Coverdale's phrases have passed into the Authorized Version. In one respect he departed markedly from his predecessor—namely, in bringing back to the English Bible the ecclesiastical terms which Tyndale had banished.

In addition to the Bible issued in 1535-6, Coverdale, in 1538, published a revised New Testament with the Latin Vulgate in parallel columns.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the demand for the Bible continued unabated, and a further step had been made in the direction of securing official authorization. Two revised editions were published in 1537, this time printed in England by Nycholson; and one of these, in quarto, bore the announcement that it was "set forth with the king's most gracious license". The bishops in Convocation might still discuss the expediency of allowing the Scriptures to circulate in English, but the question had been decided without them. The Bible circulated, and there could be no returning to the old ways.

#### *Coverdale's Treatment of the Apocrypha*

One important characteristic of our English Bible makes its first appearance in Coverdale's Bible of 1535. This is the segregation

<sup>1</sup> This was printed in England, but so inaccurately that Coverdale had a second edition printed at once in Paris. This no doubt led to a coolness with his English printer, Nycholson, of Southwark, who issued another edition, also very inaccurate, substituting the name of "Johan Hollybushe" for that of Coverdale on the title-page.

of the books which we call the Apocrypha. As has been stated above (p. 100), these books formed an integral part of the Greek Old Testament, being intermixed among the books which we know as canonical. They were, however, rejected from the Hebrew Canon as formed about A.D. 100. Many of the early Fathers concurred in this rejection. The Syrian version omitted them; in the Canon of Athanasius they were placed in a class apart; and Jerome refused to include them in his Vulgate. They had, however, been included in the Old Latin version, which was translated from the Septuagint; and the Roman Church was reluctant to abandon them. The Provincial Council of Carthage in 397, under the influence of Augustine, expressly included them in the Canon; and in the Latin Bible they remained, the Old Latin translation of them being incorporated in Jerome's Vulgate. When the Reformation came, however, Luther reverted to the Hebrew Canon, and placed these books apart under the title of 'Apocrypha'. At the same time he segregated Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation at the end of the New Testament, as books of lesser value. Tyndale followed this arrangement in his New Testament, and would probably have done the same in the Old, since he was translating from the Hebrew and was much under the influence of Luther. Certainly Coverdale does so. His Old Testament is divided into five parts: (1) Pentateuch; (2) Joshua-Esther; (3) Job-'Solomon's Balettes' (i.e. Song of Solomon); (4) Prophets; (5) "Apocripha, the bookes and treatises which amonge the fathers of olde are not rekened to be of like autorite with the other bookes of the byble, nether are they founde in the Canon of the Hebrue." This example was followed in all subsequent English Bibles, though without going to the length, now unfortunately common, of omitting altogether these books, which the Articles of our Church (agreeing in this with both Jerome and Luther) prescribe to be read for example of life and instruction of manners. The Roman Church, on the other hand, at the Council of Trent in 1546, adopted by a majority the opinion that all the books of the larger Canon should be received as of equal authority, making this for the first time a dogma of the Church, in spite of Jerome, and enforcing it by anathema.

#### *The Apocrypha in Subsequent English Bibles*

To complete the story it may be noted that the Puritan party always manifested dislike for these books. They were omitted from some editions of the Geneva Bible. Copies of the Authorized

Version without the Apocrypha are known as early as 1629, though the numeration of the sheets shows that the books were printed, but omitted in binding up. This practice must have existed earlier, for it was forbidden by Archbishop Abbot in 1615. Copies of which it never formed part are known from 1642 onwards. In 1644 the Long Parliament forbade the reading of lessons from it in public; but the lectionary of the English Church has always included lessons from it. The first edition printed in America (apart from a surreptitious printing in 1752), in 1782, is without it. In 1826 the British and Foreign Bible Society, which has been one of the principal agents in the circulation of the Scriptures throughout the world, resolved never in future to print or circulate copies containing the Apocrypha; and this resolution has recently debarred the Society from assisting in the printing of the Bible for the Church in Abyssinia, because the Ethiopic Bible, being translated from the Septuagint, has always contained the Apocryphal books.

### 3. *Matthew's Bible*, 1537

Fresh translations, or, to speak more accurately, fresh revisions, of the Bible now followed one another in quick succession. The first to follow Coverdale's was that which is known as *Matthew's Bible*, but which is in fact the completion of Tyndale's work. Tyndale had only published the Pentateuch, Jonah and the New Testament, but he had never abandoned his work on the Old Testament, and he had left behind him in manuscript a version of the books from Joshua to 2 Chronicles. The person into whose hands this version fell, and who was responsible for its publication, was John Rogers, a disciple of Tyndale and an earnest reformer; and whether 'Thomas Matthew', whose name stands at the foot of the dedication, was an assistant of Rogers, or was Rogers himself under another name, has never been clearly ascertained.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, no doubt that Rogers was the person responsible for it, and that 'Matthew' has no other known existence. The Bible which Rogers published in 1537, at the expense of two London merchants, consisted of Tyndale's version of Genesis to 2 Chronicles, Coverdale's for the rest of the Old Testament (including the Apocrypha), and Tyndale's New Testament according

<sup>1</sup> It has also been suggested that Matthew stands for Tyndale, to whom the greater part of the translation was really due. The appearance of Tyndale's name on the title-page would have made it impossible for Henry VIII to admit it into England without convicting himself of error in proscribing Tyndale's New Testament.

to his final edition in 1535; the whole being very slightly revised, and accompanied by introductions, summaries of chapters, woodcuts and copious marginal comments of a somewhat contentious character. It was printed abroad, probably at Antwerp, was dedicated to Henry VIII, and was cordially welcomed and promoted by Cranmer. Cromwell himself, at Cranmer's request, presented it to Henry and procured his permission for it to be sold publicly; and so it came about that Tyndale's translation, which Henry and all the heads of the Church had in 1525 proscribed, was in 1537 sold in England by leave of Henry and through the active support of the Secretary of State and the archbishop of Canterbury.

#### 4. *The Great Bible, 1539-41*

The English Bible had now been licensed, but it had not yet been commanded to be read in churches. That honour was reserved for a new revision which Cromwell (perhaps anxious lest the substantial identity of Matthew's Bible with Tyndale's, and the controversial character of the notes, should come to the king's knowledge) employed Coverdale to make on the basis of Matthew's Bible. It was decided to print it in Paris, where better paper and more sumptuous printing were to be had. The French king's licence was obtained, and printing was begun in 1538. Before it was completed, however, friction arose between the English and French courts, and on the suggestion of the French ambassador in London the Inquisition was prompted to seize the sheets. Coverdale, however, rescued a great number of the sheets, conveyed printers, presses and type to London, and there completed the work, of which Cromwell had already, in September 1538, ordered that a copy should be put up in some convenient place in every church. The Bible thus issued in the spring of 1539 is a splendidly printed volume of large size, from which characteristic its popular name was derived. Prefixed to it is a fine engraved title-page (reproduced in Plate XLV of the present volume), believed (though not with certainty) to be the work of Holbein. It represents the Almighty at the top blessing Henry, who hands out copies of the Bible to Cranmer and Cromwell on his right and left. Below, the archbishop and the Secretary of State, distinguished by their coats of arms beneath them, are distributing copies to the clergy and laity respectively, while the bottom of the page is filled with a crowd of people exclaiming *Vivat Rex!* ('Long live the King!'). Cromwell's own copy, on vellum with illuminations



is now in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. In contents, it is Matthew's Bible revised throughout, the Old Testament especially being considerably altered in accordance with Münster's Latin version, which was greatly superior to the Zürich Bible on which Coverdale had relied in preparing his first translation. The New Testament was also revised, with special reference to the Latin version of Erasmus. Coverdale's characteristic style of working was thus exhibited again in the formation of the Great Bible. He did not attempt to contribute independent work of his own, but took the best materials which were available at the time and combined them with the skill of a master of language. He had intended to add notes, and with this view inserted marginal marks, which he explains in his Prologue; but the Privy Council refused to sanction them, and after standing in the margin for three editions these signposts were withdrawn.

In accordance with Cromwell's order, which was repeated by royal proclamation in 1541, copies of the Great Bible were set up in every church; and we have a curious picture of the eagerness with which people flocked to make acquaintance with the English Scriptures in the complaint of Bishop Bonner that "diverse wilful and unlearned persons inconsiderately and indiscreetly read the same, especially and chiefly at the time of divine service, yea in the time of the sermon and declaration of the word of God". One can picture to oneself the great length of Old St. Paul's (of which the bishop is speaking) with the preacher haranguing from the pulpit at one end, while elsewhere eager volunteers are reading from the six volumes of the English Bible which Bonner had put up in different parts of the cathedral, surrounded by crowds of listeners, who regardless of the order of divine service, are far more anxious to hear the Word of God itself than expositions of it by the preacher in the pulpit. Over all the land copies of the Bible spread and multiplied, so that a contemporary witness testifies that it had entirely superseded the old romances as the favourite reading of the people. Edition after edition was required from the press. The first had appeared in 1539; a second (in which the books of the Prophets had again been considerably revised by Coverdale) followed in April 1540, with a preface by Cranmer, and a third in July. In that month Cromwell was overthrown and executed, and his arms were excised from the title-page in subsequent editions; but the progress of the Bible was not checked. Another edition appeared in November, and on the title-page was the authorization of Bishop Tunstall of London, who had thus



lived to sanction a revised form of the very work which, as originally issued by Tyndale, he had formerly proscribed and burnt. Three more editions appeared in 1541, all substantially reproducing the revision of April 1540, though with some variations; and by this time the immediate demand for copies had been satisfied, and the work alike of printing and of revising the Bible came for the moment to a pause.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth noting that the Great Bible, in spite of its size, was not confined to use as a lectern Bible in churches. There is good evidence that it was also bought for private study. A manuscript in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 590, f. 77) contains the narrative of one W. Maldon of Newington, who states that he was about fifteen years of age when the order for the placing of the Bible in churches was issued: "and immediately after divers poor men in the town of Chelmsford in the county of Essex . . . bought the New Testament of Jesus Christ, and on Sundays did sit reading it in the lower end of the Church, and many would flock about them to hear their reading". He describes how his father took him away from listening to these readings: "then thought I, I will learn to read English, and then will I have the New Testament and read thereon myself; and then had I learned of an English primer as far as *patris sapientia*, then on Sundays I plied my English primer. The Maytide following, I and my father's prentice, Thomas Jeffery, laid our money together and bought the New Testament in English, and hid it in our bedstraw"; for which, on discovery by his father, he was soundly thrashed. The price of the folio Great Bible, which the printers had wished to fix at 13s. 4d., was reduced at Cromwell's request to 10s. in sheets or 12s. bound. A New Testament might therefore have cost about 2s. 6d. — which, of course, meant far more then than now.

It is from the time of the Great Bible that we may fairly date the origin of the love and knowledge of the Bible which has characterized, and which it may be hoped will always characterize, the English nation. The successive issues of Tyndale's translation had been largely wasted in providing fuel for the opponents of the Reformation; but every copy of the seven editions of the Great Bible found, not merely a single reader, but a congregation

<sup>1</sup> Several of the editions of the Great Bible were printed by Whitchurch, and it is under the name of Whitchurch's Bible that the rule laid down for the guidance of the revisers of 1611 refers to it. The rule (which instructs the revisers to refer to "Tindale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's" and the "Geneva" translations) is quoted in the Preface to the Revised New Testament of 1881.

of readers. The Bible took hold of the people, superseding, as we have seen, the most popular romances; and through the rest of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries the extent to which it had sunk into their hearts is seen in their speech, their writings, and even in the daily strife of politics. And one portion of the Great Bible has had a deeper and more enduring influence still. When the first Prayer Book of Edward VI was drawn up, directions were given in it for the use of the Psalms from the Great Bible; and from that day to this the Psalter of the Great Bible has held its place in our Book of Common Prayer. Just as, eleven hundred years before, Jerome's rendering of the Psalter from the Hebrew failed to supersede his slightly revised edition of the Old Latin Psalms, to which the ears of men were accustomed, so the more correct translation of the Authorized Version has never driven out the more familiar Prayer Book version which we have received from the Great Bible. It may be, it certainly is, less accurate; but it is smoother in diction, more evenly balanced for purposes of chanting; above all, it has become so minutely familiar to us in every verse and phrase that the loss of old associations, which its abandonment would produce, would more than counter-balance the advantage of any gain in accuracy.

5. *Taverner's Bible, 1539*

One other translation should be noticed in this place for completeness's sake, although it had no effect on the subsequent history of the English Bible. This was the Bible of R. Taverner, an Oxford scholar, who undertook an independent revision of Matthew's Bible at the same time as Coverdale was preparing the first edition of the Great Bible under Cromwell's auspices. Taverner was a good Greek scholar, but not a Hebraist; consequently the best part of his work is the revision of the New Testament, in which he introduces not a few changes for the better. The Old Testament is more slightly revised, chiefly with reference to the Vulgate. Taverner's Bible appeared in 1539, and was once reprinted; but it was entirely superseded for general use by the authorized Great Bible, and exercised no influence upon later translations.

6. *The Geneva Bible, 1557-60*

The closing years of Henry's reign were marked by a reaction against the principles of the Reformation. Although he had thrown off the supremacy of the Pope, he was by no means

favourably disposed towards the teachings and practices of the Protestant leaders, either at home or abroad; and after the fall of Cromwell his distrust of them took a more marked form. In 1543 all translations of the Bible bearing the name of Tyndale were ordered to be destroyed; all notes or comments in other Bibles were to be obliterated; and the common people were forbidden to read any part of the Bible either in public or in private. In 1546 Coverdale's New Testament was joined in the same condemnation with Tyndale's, and a great destruction of these earlier Testaments then took place. Thus, in spite of a resolution of Convocation, instructing certain of the bishops and others to take in hand a revision of the errors of the Great Bible, not only was the work of making fresh translations suspended for several years, but the continued existence of those which had been previously made seemed to be in danger.

The accession of Edward VI in 1547 removed this danger, and during his reign all the previous translations were frequently reprinted. It is said that some forty editions of the existing translations—Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, the Great Bible, and even Taverner's—were issued in the course of this short reign; but no new translation or revision made its appearance. It is true that Sir John Cheke, whose memory is preserved by Milton as having "taught Cambridge and King Edward Greek", prepared a translation of St. Matthew and part of St. Mark, in which he avoided, as far as possible, the use of all words not English in origin, substituting (for example) "gainrising" for "resurrection" and "biword" for "parable"; but this version was not printed, and remains as a mere linguistic curiosity. Under Mary it was not likely that the work of translation would make any progress. Two of the men most intimately associated with the previous versions, Cranmer and Rogers, were burnt at the stake, and Coverdale (who under Edward VI had become bishop of Exeter) escaped with difficulty. The public use of the English Bible was forbidden, and copies were removed from the churches; but beyond this no special destruction of the Bible was attempted.

Meanwhile the fugitives from the persecution of England were gathering beyond sea, and the more advanced and earnest among them were soon attracted by the influence of Calvin to a congenial home at Geneva. Here the interrupted task of perfecting the English Bible was resumed. The place was very favourable for the purpose. Geneva was the home, not only of Calvin, but of Beza, the most prominent Biblical scholar then living (see pp.

161, 208) and no considerations of State policy or expediency need affect the translators. Since the last revision of the English translation much had been done, both by Beza and by others, to improve and elucidate the Bible text. A company of Frenchmen was already at work in Geneva on the production of a revised translation of the French Bible, which eventually became the standard version for the Protestants of that country. Amid such surroundings a body of English scholars took in hand the task of revising the Great Bible. The first-fruits of this activity was the New Testament of W. Whittingham, brother-in-law of Calvin's wife and a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, which was printed in 1557 in a convenient small octavo form; but this was soon superseded by a more comprehensive and complete revision of the whole Bible by Whittingham himself and a group of other scholars. Taking for their basis the Great Bible in the Old Testament, and Tyndale's last revision in the New, they revised the whole with much care and scholarship. In the Old Testament the changes introduced are chiefly in the prophetic books and the Hagiographa (which had not been translated by Tyndale, but had mainly been taken from the Latin), and consist for the most part of closer approximations to the original Hebrew. In the New Testament they took Beza's Latin translation and commentary as their guide, and by far the greater number of the changes in this part of the Bible are traceable to his influence. The whole Bible was accompanied by explanatory comments in the margin, of a somewhat Calvinistic character, but without any excessive violence or partisanship. The division of chapters into verses, which had been introduced by Whittingham from Stephanus' Græco-Latin New Testament of 1551, was here for the first time adopted for the whole English Bible. In all previous translations the division had been into paragraphs, as in our present Revised Version. For the Old Testament, the verse division was that made by Rabbi Nathan in 1448, which was first printed in a Venice edition of 1524, and was adopted by Pagninus in a Latin Bible in 1528, with a different division in the New Testament. Stephanus' Latin Bible of 1555 is the first to show the present division in both Testaments, and it was this that was followed in the Geneva Bible.

Next to Tyndale, the authors of the Geneva Bible have exercised the most marked influence of all the early translators on the Authorized Version. Their own scholarship, both in Hebrew and in Greek, seems to have been sound and sober; and Beza, their

principal guide in the New Testament, was unsurpassed in his own day as an interpreter of the sacred text. Printed in legible Roman type and in a convenient quarto or smaller form, with a few illustrative wood-cuts, and accompanied by an intelligible and sensible commentary, the Geneva Bible (either as originally published in 1560, or with the New Testament further revised by Tomson, in fuller harmony with Beza's views, in 1576) became the Bible of the household, as the Great Bible was the Bible of the church. It was never authorized for use in churches, and Archbishop Parker, who was interested in its rival, described below, seems to have obstructed the printing of it in England; but there was nothing to prevent its importation from Geneva, and up to 1617 there was hardly a year which did not see one or more reprints of it. The bishops in general seem to have welcomed it, and it was powerfully supported by Walsingham; and until the final victory of King James's version it was by far the most popular Bible in England for private reading. Many of its improvements, in phrase or in interpretation, were adopted in the Authorized Version.<sup>1</sup> See Plate XLVI.

#### 7. *The Bishops' Bible, 1568*

With the accession of Elizabeth a new day dawned for the Bible in England. The public reading of it was naturally restored, and the clergy were required once more to have a copy of the Great Bible placed in their churches, which all might read with due order and reverence. But the publication of the Geneva Bible made it impossible for the Great Bible to maintain its position as the authorized form of the English Scriptures. The superior correctness of the Geneva version threw discredit on the official Bible; and yet, being itself the Bible of one particular party in the Church, and reflecting in its commentary the views of that party, it could not properly be adopted as the universal Bible for public service. The necessity of a revision of the Great Bible was therefore obvious, and it happened that the archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, was himself a textual scholar, a collector of manuscripts, an editor of learned works, and consequently fitted to take up the task which lay ready to his hand. Accordingly, about the year 1563, he set on foot a scheme for the revision of the Bible by a number of scholars working separately. Portions of the

<sup>1</sup> It is the Geneva Bible to which the popular title of the 'Breeches Bible' is given, from its translation of Gen. iii. 7. It has been observed that the 'Soldier's Pocket Bible', printed for the Parliamentary armies in 1643, consists of a number of passages taken from the Geneva Bible.

Bible were assigned to each of the selected divines for revision, the archbishop reserving for himself the task of editing the whole and passing it through the press. A considerable number of the selected revisers were bishops,<sup>1</sup> and hence the result of their labours obtained the name of the Bishops' Bible.

The Bishops' Bible was published in 1568, and it at once superseded the Great Bible for official use in churches. No edition of the earlier text was printed after 1569, and the mandate of Convocation for the provision of the new version in all churches and bishops' palaces, though not as imperative as the injunctions in the case of the Great Bible, must have eventually secured its general use in public services. Nevertheless, on the whole, the revision cannot be considered a success, and the Geneva Bible continued to be preferred as the Bible of the household and the individual. In the forty-three years which elapsed before the appearance of the Authorized Version, nearly 120 editions of the Geneva Bible issued from the press, as against twenty of the Bishops' Bible, and while the former are mostly of small compass, the latter are mainly the large volumes which would be used in churches. The method of revision did not conduce to uniformity of results. There was, apparently, no habitual consultation between the several revisers. Each carried out his own assigned portion of the task, subject only to the general supervision of the archbishop. The natural result is a considerable amount of unevenness. The historical books of the Old Testament were comparatively little altered; in the remaining books changes were much more frequent, but they are not always happy or even correct. The New Testament portion was better done, Greek being apparently better known by the revisers than Hebrew. Like almost all its predecessors, the Bishops' Bible was provided with a marginal commentary, on a rather smaller scale than that in the Geneva Bible, and mainly merely explanatory. A large quarto edition was published in 1569, and a second folio in 1572, in which the New Testament was once more revised, while the Old Testament was left untouched; but the total demand for the Bishops' Bible, being probably confined to

<sup>1</sup> Alley, bishop of Exeter; Davies, bishop of St. David's; Sandys, bishop of Worcester; Barlow, bishop of Chichester; Horne, bishop of Winchester; Bentham, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; Grindal, bishop of London; Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich; Scambler, bishop of Peterborough; Cox, bishop of Ely; Guest, bishop of Rochester (who, however, did not perform the part allotted to him); and probably Bullingham, bishop of Lincoln, and Jones, bishop of Llandaff. The other revisers were Pierson, canon of Canterbury; Perne, dean of Ely; Goodman, dean of Westminster; and probably Thomas Bickley, chaplain to Parker.

the copies required for public purposes, can never have been very great.

8. *The Rheims and Douai Bible, 1582-1609*

Meanwhile the zeal of the reformed churches for the possession of the Bible in their own languages drove the Romanists into competition with them in the production of translations. For each of the principal provinces of the Latin Church a translation was provided conformable to the view of that Church on the text and interpretation of Scripture. It was not that the heads of the Roman Church believed such translations to be in themselves desirable; but since there was evidently an irrepressible popular demand for them, it was clearly advisable, from the Roman point of view, that the translated Bible should be accompanied by a commentary in accordance with Roman teaching, rather than by that of the Genevan Calvinists or the English bishops. The preparation of an English version naturally fell to the scholars of the English seminary which had lately been established in France. The original home of this seminary was at Douai, but in 1578 it was transferred for a time to Rheims; and it was during the sojourn at Rheims that the first part of the English Bible was produced. This was the New Testament, which was published in 1582. The Old Testament, for lack of funds, did not appear until 1609, when the seminary had returned to Douai; and consequently the completed Bible goes by the name of the Rheims and Douai version.

The most important point to observe about this Roman Catholic Bible is that the translation is made, not from the original Hebrew and Greek, but from the Latin Vulgate. This was done deliberately, on the ground that the Vulgate was the Bible of Jerome and Augustine, that it had ever since been used in the Church, and that its text was preferable to the Greek wherever the two differed, because the Greek text had been corrupted by heretics. Furthermore, the translators (of whom the chief was Gregory Martin, formerly fellow of St. John's College, Oxford) held it their duty to adhere as closely as possible to the Latin words, even when the Latin was unintelligible. Bishop Westcott quotes an extraordinary instance in Ps. lvii. 10: "Before your thorns did understand the old briar; as living so in wrath he swalloweth them." The general result is that the translation is almost always stiff and awkward, and not unfrequently meaningless. As a contribution to the interpretation of Scripture it is of slight importance; but, on the other hand, its systematic use of words and technical phrases taken

directly from the Latin has had a considerable influence on our Authorized Version. Many of the words derived from the Latin which occur in our Bible were incorporated into it from the Rheims New Testament. (See Plate XLVII.)

The Romanist Bible had no general success, and its circulation was not large. The New Testament was reprinted four times (1600, 1621, 1633, 1749) between 1582 and 1750; the Old Testament only once (1635). Curiously enough, the greater part of its circulation was in the pages of a Protestant controversialist, Fulke, who printed the Rheims and the Bishops' New Testaments side by side, and also appended to the Rheims commentary a refutation by himself. Fulke's work had a considerable popularity, and it is possibly to the wider knowledge of the Rheims version thus produced that we owe the use made of it by the scholars who prepared the Authorized Version: to which version, after our long and varied wanderings, we are now at last come.

#### 9. *The Authorized Version*

The attempt of Archbishop Parker and the Elizabethan bishops to provide a universally satisfactory Bible had failed. The Bishops' Bible had replaced the Great Bible for use in churches, and that was all. It had not superseded the Geneva Bible in private use; and faults and inequalities in it were visible to all scholars. For the remaining years of Elizabeth's reign it held its own; but in the settlement of religion which followed the accession of James I, the provision of a new Bible held a prominent place. At the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, to which bishops and Puritan clergy were alike invited by James in order to confer on the subject of religious toleration, Dr. Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, raised the subject of the imperfection of the current Bibles. Bancroft, bishop of London, supported him; and although the conference itself arrived at no conclusion on this or any other subject, the king had become interested in the matter, and a scheme was formulated shortly afterwards for carrying the revision into effect. It appears to have been James himself who suggested the leading features of the scheme—namely, that the revision should be executed mainly by the universities; that it should be approved by the bishops and most learned of the Church, by the Privy Council, and by the king himself, so that all the Church should be concerned in it; and that it should have no marginal commentary, which might render it the Bible of a party only. To James were also submitted the names of the



revisers; and it is no more than justice to a king whose political misconceptions and mismanagements have left him with a very indifferent character among English students of history, to allow that the good sense on which he prided himself seems to have been conspicuously manifested in respect of the preparation of the Authorized Version, which, by reason of its after effects, may fairly be considered the most important event of his reign.

It was in 1604 that the scheme of the revision was drawn up, and some of the revisers may have begun work upon it privately at this time; but it was not until 1607 that the task was formally taken in hand. The body of revisers was a strong one. It included the professors of Hebrew and Greek at both universities, with practically all the leading scholars and divines of the day. There is a slight uncertainty about some of the names, and some changes in the list may have been caused by death or retirement, but the total number of revisers was from forty-eight to fifty. These were divided into six groups, of which two sat at Westminster, two at Oxford and two at Cambridge. In the first instance each group worked separately, having a special part of the Bible assigned to it. The two Westminster groups revised Genesis-2 Kings, and Romans-Jude; the Oxford groups Isaiah-Malachi, and the Gospels, Acts and Apocalypse; while those at Cambridge undertook 1 Chronicles-Ecclesiastes and the Apocrypha. Elaborate instructions were drawn up for their guidance, probably by Bancroft. The basis of the revision was to be the Bishops' Bible, though the earlier translations were to be consulted; the old ecclesiastical terms (about which Tyndale and More had so vehemently disagreed) were to be retained; no marginal notes were to be affixed, except necessary explanations of Hebrew and Greek words; when any company had finished the revision of a book, it was to be sent to all the rest for their criticism and suggestions, ultimate differences of opinion to be settled at a general meeting of the chief members of each company; learned men outside the board of revisers were to be invited to give their opinions, especially in cases of particular difficulty.

With these regulations to secure careful and repeated revision, the work was earnestly taken in hand. It occupied two years and nine months of strenuous toil, the last nine months being taken up by a final revision by a committee consisting of two members from each centre. (Nothing, it may be observed, is heard of revision by the bishops, the Privy Council, or the king.) It was seen through the press by Dr. Miles Smith and Bishop Bilson, the

former of whom is believed to have been the author of the valuable Preface of the Translators to the Reader;<sup>1</sup> and in the year 1611 the result of the revisers' labours issued from the press.<sup>2</sup> It was at once attacked by Dr. Hugh Broughton, a Biblical scholar of great eminence and erudition, who had been omitted from the list of revisers on account of his violent and impracticable disposition. Broughton had, so far back as 1593, tried hard to secure Burghley's support for a translation to be produced by himself, which, as he declared, sundry bishops, doctors "and other inferior of all sort" were pressing him to undertake; but Burghley does not seem to have been responsive, and Archbishop Whitgift actively opposed it, so much so that Broughton threatened to bestow his favours upon the Scots, who, he asserts, were ready to pay him far more liberally than the English. But even this hope had come to nothing. His disappointment vented itself in a very hostile criticism of the new version; but this had very little effect, and the general reception of the revised Bible seems to have been eminently favourable. Though there is no record whatever of any decree ordaining its use, by either king, Parliament or Convocation, the words "Appointed to be read in Churches" appear on its title-page; and there can be no doubt that it at once superseded the Bishops' Bible (which, except for some half-dozen reprints of the New Testament, was not reprinted after 1606) as the official version of the Scriptures for public service. Against the Geneva Bible it had a sharper struggle, and for nearly half a century the two versions existed side by side in private use. From the first, however, the version of 1611 seems to have been received into popular favour, and the reprints of it far outnumber those of its rival. Three folio editions and at least fourteen in quarto or octavo appeared in the years 1611-14, as against six of the Geneva Bible. Between 1611 and 1644, the *Historical Catalogue* of the British and Foreign Bible Society enumerates fifteen editions of the Geneva and 182 of the Authorized. After 1616, however, English-printed editions of the Geneva cease almost entirely, and this may be due to pressure from above. Nevertheless, it would be untrue to say that the version of 1611 owed its success to official backing from the authorities of Church or State, for its victory became complete

<sup>1</sup> This preface is not printed in the Bibles in ordinary circulation, but may be found in the Variorum Bible.

<sup>2</sup> Plate XLVIII. The price of these large folio copies appears to have been 25s. in sheets and 30s. bound. A Cambridge edition in 1629, in small folio, was priced at 10s., and the King's Printers tried to drive the University Press off the market by undercutting their price, but without success.

just at the time when Church and State were overthrown, and when the Puritan party was dominant. It was its superior merit and its total freedom from party or sectarian spirit that secured the triumph of the Authorized Version, which from the middle of the seventeenth century took its place as the undisputed Bible of the English nation.

*Its Excellence and Influence*

The causes of its superiority are not hard to understand. In the first place, Greek and Hebrew scholarship had greatly increased in England during the forty years which had passed since the last revision. It is true that the Greek text of the New Testament had not been substantially improved in the interval, and was still very imperfect; but the chief concern of the revisers was not with the readings, but with the interpretation of the Scriptures, and in this department of scholarship great progress had been made. Secondly, the revision was the work of no single man and of no single school. It was the deliberate work of a large body of trained scholars and divines of all classes and opinions, who had before them, for their guidance, the labours of nearly a century of revision. The translation of the Bible had passed out of the sphere of controversy. It was a national undertaking in which no one had any interest at heart save that of producing the best possible version of the Scriptures. Thirdly, the past forty years had been years of extraordinary growth in English literature. Prose writers and poets—Spenser, Sidney, Hooker, Marlowe, Shakespeare, to name only the greatest—had combined to spread abroad a sense of literary style and to raise the standard of literary taste. Under the influence, conscious or unconscious, of masters such as these, the revisers wrought out the fine material left to them by Tyndale and his successors into the splendid monument of Elizabethan prose which the Authorized Version is universally admitted to be.

Into the details of the revision it is hardly necessary to go far. The earlier versions of which the revisers made most use were those of Rheims and Geneva. Tyndale no doubt fixed the general tone of the version more than any other translator, through the transmission of his influence down to the Bishops' Bible, which formed the basis of the revision; but many improvements in interpretation were taken from the Geneva Bible, and not a few phrases and single words from that of Rheims. Indeed, no source of information seems to have been left untried; and the result was a version at once more faithful to the original than any translation

that had preceded it, and finer as a work of literary art than any translation either before or since. In the Old Testament the Hebrew tone and manner have been admirably reproduced, and have passed with the Authorized Version into much of our literature. Even where the translation is wrong or the Hebrew text corrupt, as in many passages of the Prophets or the last chapter of Ecclesiastes, the splendid stateliness of the English version makes us blind to the deficiency in the sense. And in the New Testament, in particular, it is the simple truth that the English version is a far greater *literary* work than the original Greek. The Greek of the New Testament is a language which had passed its prime and had lost its natural grace and infinite adaptability. The English of the Authorized Version is the finest specimen of our prose literature at a time when English prose wore its stateliest and most majestic form.

The influence of the Authorized Version, alike on our religion and our literature, can never be exaggerated. Not only in the great works of our theologians, the resonant prose of the seventeenth-century Fathers of the English Church, but in the writings of nearly every author, whether of prose or verse, the stamp of its language is to be seen. Milton is full of it; naturally, perhaps, from the nature of his subjects, but still his practice shows his sense of the artistic value of its style. So deeply has its language entered into our common tongue, that one probably could not take up a newspaper or read a single book in which some phrase was not borrowed, consciously or unconsciously, from King James's version. No master of style has been blind to its charms; and those who have recommended its study most strongly have often been those who, like Carlyle and Matthew Arnold, were not prepared to accept its teaching to the full.

But great as has been the literary value of the Authorized Version, its religious significance has been greater still. For nearly three centuries it has been the Bible, not merely of public use, not merely of one sect or party, not even of a single country, but of the whole nation and of every English-speaking country on the face of the globe. It has been the literature of millions who have read little else, it has been the guide of conduct to men and women of every class in life and of every rank in learning and education. No small part of the attachment of the English people to their national Church is due to the common love borne by every party and well-nigh every individual for the English Bible. It was a national work in its creation, and it has been a national treasure

since its completion. It was the work, not of one man, nor of one age, but of many labourers, of diverse and even opposing views, over a period of ninety years. It was watered with the blood of martyrs, and its slow growth gave time for the casting off of imperfections and for the full accomplishment of its destiny as the Bible of the English nation.

*The Authorized Version Accepted as Final*

With the publication of the Authorized Version the history of the English Bible closes for many a long year. Partly, no doubt, this was due to the troubled times which came upon England in that generation and the next. When the constitutions of Church and State alike were being cast into the melting-pot, when men were beating their ploughshares into swords, and their pruning-hooks into spears, there was little time for nice discussions as to the exact text of the Scriptures, and little peace for the labours of scholarship. But the main reason for this pause in the work was that, for the moment, finality had been reached. The version of 1611 was an adequate translation of the Greek and Hebrew texts as they were then known to scholars. The scholarship of the day was satisfied with it as it had been satisfied with no version before it; and the common people found its language appeal to them with a greater charm and dignity than that of the Genevan version, to which they had been accustomed. As time went on the Authorized Version acquired the prescriptive right of age; its rhythms became familiar to the ears of all classes; its language entered into our literature; and Englishmen became prouder of their Bible than of any of the creative works of their own literature.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A few bibliographical details may be added. The first edition was generally well printed, but errors began to creep in at once; and the history has been inextricably confused by the printers' habit of binding up together sheets from different printings. In 1629 a group of Cambridge scholars superintended a carefully printed edition, and this salutary revision was carried further in 1638. Meanwhile an edition in 1631 earned the title of the 'Wicked Bible' by omitting the word "not" in the Seventh Commandment. In 1701 Bishop Lloyd superintended an edition at Oxford, in which Archbishop Ussher's dates for Scripture chronology were added in the margin. In 1717 a fine but inaccurate edition printed by Baskett at Oxford acquired notoriety as the 'Vinegar Bible', from the misprint "Vinegar" for "Vineyard" in the headline to Luke xx. Editions carefully revised for the removal of printers' errors were produced in 1762 at Cambridge under the editorship of Dr. T. Paris, and in 1769 at Oxford under the editorship of Dr. B. Blayney. In 1833 the Oxford University Press produced a line-for-line reprint of the *editio princeps*, and at the tercentenary in 1911 a facsimile in a reduced size, with a bibliographical introduction by A. W. Pollard, subsequently expanded into his *Records of the English Bible* (1911), which remains the most authoritative treatment of the subject.

*Need of a Revision in Our Own Time*

What, then, were the causes which led to the revision of this beloved version after it had held its ground for nearly three hundred years? They may be summed up in a single sentence: The increase of our knowledge concerning the original Hebrew and Greek texts, especially the latter. The reader who will glance back at our history of the Greek texts in Chapters VI–VIII will see how much of our best knowledge about the text of the New Testament has been acquired since the date of the Authorized Version. Of all the manuscripts described in Chapter VII scarcely one was known to the scholars of 1611; of all the versions described in Chapter VIII not one was known except the Vulgate, and that mainly in late and corrupt manuscripts. The editions of the Greek text chiefly used by the translators of 1611 were those of Erasmus, Stephanus and Beza, and these had been formed from a comparison of only a few manuscripts, and those mostly of the latest period.<sup>1</sup> The translators used the best materials that they had to their hands, and with good results, since their texts were substantially true, though not in detail; but since their time the materials have increased to such an extent as to revolutionize the situation entirely.

The Authorized Version had indeed hardly seen the light when a beginning was made in a movement which was ultimately to undermine it. Only sixteen years after its publication the Codex Alexandrinus (see p. 198) reached England; and the inclusion of the more important of its variant readings in Walton's Polyglot of 1657 showed scholars that it was not safe to depend on manuscripts of the fifteenth century when manuscripts of the fifth century were available. Thenceforth there began the search for manuscripts, the results of which provided the materials for our Chapters VII and VIII, and the labours of scholars which were summarized in the appendix to Chapter VI. The climax was reached in the work of Tischendorf and Tregelles in the middle of the nineteenth century, and especially in the publication by the former of the two great fourth-century manuscripts, the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus. It was then obvious that the time had come for the preparation of a new Greek text, established on critical principles on a mass of evidence far older and better than that which King James's translators had before them. The successive editions of Tischendorf and Tregelles showed what such

<sup>1</sup> Stephanus consulted two good uncials, D and L, but only to a slight extent.

a revised text would be, and the climax was reached in the New Testament of Westcott and Hort, published in 1881.

In the matter of a revised English translation a move had been made even before the discovery of the Sinaiticus. About the year 1855 the subject began to be mooted in magazine articles and in motions in Convocation. The way was paved by the enterprise of a small group of scholars, Dr. Ellicott, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Moberly, head master of Winchester and afterwards bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Barron, principal of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford; the Rev. H. Alford, afterwards dean of Canterbury; the Rev. W. G. Humphry and the Rev. E. Hawkins, who in 1857 published a revision of the Authorized Version for the Gospel of St. John, following it up with six of the Epistles in 1861 and 1863. This gave the general public an idea of what revision would mean, and prepared men's minds for the operations which eventually led to the production of the Revised Version.

The history of the revision is told at sufficient length in the Preface to the New Testament. The initiative was taken by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. In February of the year 1870 a definite proposal was made that a revision of the Authorized Version should be taken into consideration. In May the broad principles of the revision were laid down in a series of resolutions, and a committee of sixteen members was appointed to execute the work, with power to add to its numbers. The committee divided itself into two companies, one for each Testament, and invitations were issued to all the leading Biblical scholars of the United Kingdom to take part in the work. The invitations were not confined to members of the Church of England. The English Bible is the Bible of Nonconformists as well as of the Established Church, and representatives of the Nonconformist bodies took their seats among the revisers. Thus were formed the two companies to whom the Revised Version is due. Each company consisted originally of twenty-seven members, but deaths and resignations and new appointments caused the exact numbers to vary from time to time; and it cannot be questioned that most of the leading Biblical scholars of the day were included among them. Further, when the work had barely begun, an invitation was sent to the Churches of America asking their co-operation; and in accordance with this invitation two companies were formed in America, to whom all the results of the English companies were communicated. The suggestions of the American revisers were carefully and repeatedly considered, and

those of their alterations on which they desired to insist, when they were not adopted by their English colleagues, were recorded in an appendix to the published version.<sup>1</sup> The Revised Version is consequently the work not of the English Church alone, nor of the British Isles alone, but of all the English-speaking Churches throughout the world; only the Roman Catholics taking no part in it.

The methods of the revision left little to be desired in the way of care and deliberation. The instructions to the revisers (which are given in full in their Preface) required them to introduce as few alterations as possible consistently with faithfulness; to use in such alterations the language of the Authorized or earlier versions, where possible; to go over their work twice, in the first revision deciding on alterations by simple majorities, but finally making or retaining no change except two-thirds of those present approved of it. Thus the Revised Version represents the deliberate opinions of a large majority of the best scholars of all English-speaking Churches in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

It was on the 22nd of June, 1870, that the members of the New Testament Company, having first received the Holy Communion in Westminster Abbey, held their first meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber; the Old Testament Company entered on their work eight days later. The New Testament Company met on 407 days in the course of eleven years, the Old Testament Company on 792 days in fifteen years. It was on the 11th of November, 1880, that the New Testament Revisers set their signatures to the Preface of their work, and the Revised New Testament was issued to a keenly expectant world on the 17th of May, 1881. The Old Testament followed almost exactly four years later, the Preface being signed on the 10th of July, 1884, and the volume published on the 19th of May, 1885. The revision of the Apocrypha was not part of the undertaking of Convocation, but was commissioned by the two University Presses. The work was shared by the two companies, the New Testament Company, which was the first to be set free from its main task, distributing Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Judith, Wisdom and 1 and 2 Maccabees among three groups of its members, while the Old Testament Company appointed a small committee to deal with the remaining books. The work

<sup>1</sup> An edition (unauthorized) incorporating the readings of the American revisers in the New Testament was issued in 1881, and an authorized edition in 1898. A further revision was made in 1901. But it does not appear that any of these editions had much success.



dragged on over many years, involving some inequalities in treatment, and the book was finally published in November 1895. It may be observed that the revisers incorporated the missing fragment of 2 Esdras (vii. 36-105) which is not in the Authorized Version, but which was discovered in 1875 by R. L. Bensly in a manuscript at Amiens. Curiously enough, after Prof. Bensly had made his discovery public, it turned out that nearly fifty years earlier Prof. Palmer had actually transcribed the fragment from another MS. at Madrid, but had never announced or published it.

What, then, of the result of this prolonged and conscientious labour? Is the Revised Version a worthy successor to the Authorized Bible, which has entered so deeply into the life of Englishmen? Has it added fresh perfection to that glorious work, or has it laid hands rashly upon sacred things? What, in any case, are the characteristics of the revision of 1881-5 as compared with the version on which it is based?

#### *Characteristics of the Revised Version*

*A. Changes in Text.* The first class of changes introduced in the Revised Version consists of those which are due to a difference in the text translated; and these are most conspicuous and most important in the New Testament. The version of 1611 was made from a Greek text formed by a comparison of very few manuscripts, and those, for the most part, late (see pp. 161, 309). The version of 1881, on the other hand, was made from a Greek text based upon an exhaustive examination, extending over some two centuries, of all the best manuscripts in existence. In Dr. Hort and Dr. Scrivener the New Testament Company possessed the two most learned textual critics then alive; and when it is remembered that no change was finally accepted unless it had the support of two-thirds of those present, it will be seen that the Greek text underlying the Revised Version has very strong claims on our acceptance. No one edition of the Greek text was followed by the revisers, each reading being considered on its own merits; but it is certain that the edition and the textual theories of Drs. Westcott and Hort, which were communicated to the revisers in advance of the publication of their volumes, had a great influence on the text ultimately adopted, while very many of their readings which were not admitted into the text of the Revised Version yet find a place in the margin. The Greek text of the New Testament of 1881 has been estimated to differ from that of 1611 in no less

than 5,788 readings, of which about a quarter are held notably to modify the subject-matter; though even of these only a small proportion can be considered as of first-rate importance. The chief of these have been referred to on p. 48, but the reader who wishes for a fuller list may compare the Authorized and Revised readings in such passages as: Matt. i. 25; v. 44; vi. 13; x. 3; xi. 23; xvii. 21; xviii. 11; xix. 17; xx. 22; xxiii. 14; xxiv. 36; xxvii. 35. Mark vii. 19; ix. 44, 46, 49; xv. 28; xvi. 9-20. Luke i. 28; ii. 14; ix. 35, 54, 55; xi. 2-4; xvii. 36; xxiii. 15, 17. John iv. 42; v. 3, 4; vi. 69; vii. 53-viii. 11; viii. 59. Acts iv. 25; viii. 37; ix. 5; xv. 18, 34; xviii. 5, 17, 21; xx. 15; xxiv. 6-8; xxviii. 16, 29. Rom. iii. 9; iv. 19; vii. 6; viii. 1; ix. 28; x. 15; xi. 6; xiv. 6; xvi. 5, 24. 1 Cor. ii. 1; vi. 20; viii. 7; xi. 24, 29; xv. 47. 2 Cor. i. 20; xii. 1. Gal. iii. 1, 17; iv. 7; v. 1. Eph. iii. 9, 14; v. 30. Phil. i. 16, 17. Col. i. 2, 14; ii. 2, 18. 1 Thess. i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 3, 16; vi. 5, 19. 2 Tim. i. 11. Heb. vii. 21. 1 Pet. iv. 14. 1 John iv. 3; v. 7, 8, 13. Jude 23. Rev. i. 8, 11; ii. 3; v. 10; xi. 17; xiv. 5; xvi. 7; xxi. 24; xxii. 14. This list, which any reader of the Variorum Bible may extend indefinitely for himself (with the advantage of having the evidence for and against each change succinctly stated for him), contains some of the more striking passages in which the Revised Version is translated from a different Greek text from that used in the Authorized Version, and few scholars will be found to deny that in nearly every case the text of the Revised Version is certainly superior.

In the Old Testament the case is different. This is not because the translators of the Old Testament in the Authorized Version were more careful to select a correct text than their colleagues of the New Testament, but simply because our knowledge of the Old Testament text has not increased since that date to anything like the extent that it has in respect of the New Testament. As we have seen in the earlier chapters, all extant manuscripts of the Hebrew Scriptures contain what is known as the Massoretic text, and they do not greatly differ among themselves. Such differences of reading as exist are traced by a collation of the early versions—e.g. the Septuagint or the Vulgate; but we know too little as yet of the character and history of these versions to follow them to any great extent in preference to the Hebrew manuscripts. The revisers, therefore, had no choice but to translate, as a rule, from the Massoretic text; and consequently they were translating substantially the same text as that which the authors of King James's version had before them. This is one explanation of the fact,

which is obvious to every reader, that the Old Testament is much less altered in the Revised Version than the New;<sup>1</sup> and the reader who wishes to learn the improvements which might be introduced by a freer use of the ancient versions must be referred to the notes in the Variorum Bible.

B. *Changes in Interpretation.* The situation is reversed when we come to consider the differences, not of text but of interpretation, between the Authorized Version and the Revised. Here the advance is greater in the Old Testament than in the New, and again the reason is plain. The translators of the New Testament in the Authorized Version were generally able to interpret correctly the Greek text which they had before them, and their work may, except in a few passages, be taken as a faithful rendering of an imperfect text. On the other hand, Hebrew was less well known in 1611 than Greek, and the passages in which the Authorized Version fails to represent the original are far more numerous in the Old Testament than in the New. The reader who will take the trouble to compare the Authorized and Revised Versions of the prophetic and poetical books will find a very considerable number of places in which the latter has brought out the meaning of passages which in the former were obscure. To some extent the same is the case with the Epistles of St. Paul, where, if we miss much of the familiar language of the Authorized Version, we yet find that the connexion between the sentences and the general course of the argument are brought out more clearly than before. But it is in the Old Testament, in Job, in Ecclesiastes, in Isaiah and the other Prophets, that the gain is most manifest, and no one who cares for the meaning of what he reads can afford to neglect the light thrown upon the obscure passages in these books by the Revised Version.<sup>2</sup>

C. *Changes in Language.* Besides differences in text and differences in interpretation, we find in the Revised Version very many differences in language. By far the greater number of the changes

<sup>1</sup> A well-known example of an altered reading occurs in Isa. ix. 3 (the first lesson for Christmas Day), "Thou hast multiplied the nation and *not* increased the joy: they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest", etc.; the marginal reading being *to him*. In the Revised Version these readings change places, 'his' (lit. *to him*) being in the text, and *not* in the margin. The note in the Variorum Bible explains that in the Hebrew both readings are pronounced alike.

<sup>2</sup> The most striking single passage in the New Testament where the Revised Version has altered the interpretation of the Authorized Version is Acts xxvi. 28, where for the familiar "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian" we find "With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian" - unquestionably a more correct translation of the Greek.

introduced by the revisers are of this class, and it is on them that the general acceptance, or otherwise, of the new translation very largely depends. Sometimes these changes embody a slight change of meaning, or remove a word which has acquired in course of time a meaning different from that which it originally had. Such are the substitution of "Sheol" or "Hades" for "hell", "condemnation" for "damnation", and "love" for "charity" (notably in 1 Cor. xiii.). Others are attempts at slightly greater accuracy in reproducing the precise tenses of the verbs used in the Greek, as when in John xvii. 14 "the world hated them" is substituted for "the world hath hated them". Others, again, are due to the attempt made to represent the same Greek word, wherever it occurs, by the same English word, so far as this is possible. The translators of the Authorized Version were avowedly indifferent to this consideration; or, rather, they deliberately did the reverse. Where there were two or more good English equivalents for a Greek word, they did not wish to seem to cast a slight upon one of them by always using the other, and so they used both interchangeably.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Translators' Preface (unfortunately omitted from our ordinary Bibles, but very rightly inserted in the Variorum Bible, p. xxiii): "Another thing we think good to admonish thee of, gentle Reader, that we have not tied ourselves to an uniformity of phrasing, or to an identity of words, as some peradventure would wish that we had done, because they observe, that some learned men somewhere have been as exact as they could that way. Truly, that we might not vary from the sense of that which we had translated before, if the word signified the same thing in both places, (for there be some words that be not of the same sense every where,) we were especially careful, and made a conscience, according to our duty. But that we should express the same notion in the same particular word; as, for example, if we translate the *Hebrew* or *Greek* word once by *purpose*, never to call it *intent*; if one where *journeying*, never *travelling*; if one where *think*, never *suppose*; if one where *pain*, never *ache*; if one where *joy*, never *gladness*, &c. thus to mince the matter, we thought to savour more of curiosity than wisdom, and that rather it would breed scorn in the atheist, than bring profit to the godly reader. For is the kingdom of God become words or syllables? Why should we be in bondage to them, if we may be free? use one precisely, when we may use another no less fit as commodiously? . . . Now if this happen in better times, and upon so small occasions, we might justly feel hard censure, if generally we should make verbal and unnecessary changings. We might also be charged (by scoffers) with some unequal dealing towards a great number of good *English* words. For as it is written of a certain great Philosopher, that he should say, that those logs were happy that were made images to be worshipped; for their fellows, as good as they, lay for blocks behind the fire: so if we should say, as it were, unto certain words, Stand up higher, have a place in the Bible always; and to others of like quality, Get you hence, be banished for ever; we might be taxed peradventure with St. James's words, namely, *To be partial in ourselves, and judges of evil thoughts*. Add hereunto, that niceness in words was always counted the next step to trifling; and so was to be curious about names too: also that we cannot follow a better pattern for elocution than God Himself; therefore He using divers

The revisers of 1881-5 took a different view of their duty. Sometimes the point of the passage depends on the same or different words being used, and here it is misleading not to follow the Greek closely. So much weight is laid on the exact words of the Bible, so many false conclusions have been drawn from its phrases by those who are not able to examine the meaning of those phrases in the original Greek and Hebrew, that minute accuracy in reproducing the exact language of the original is highly desirable, if it can be had without violence to the idioms of the English tongue. One special class of passages to which this principle has been applied occurs in the first three Gospels. In these the same events are often recorded in identical words, proving that the three narratives have some common origin; but in the Authorized Version this identity is often obscured by the use of different renderings of the same words in the various Gospels. The revisers have been careful to reproduce exactly the amount of similarity or of divergence which is to be found in the original Greek of such passages.

#### *Reception of the Revised Version*

What, then, is the final value of the Revised Version, and what are its merits when compared with the Authorized Version to which we have been so long accustomed? On the first appearance of the Revised New Testament it was received with much unfavourable criticism. Dean Burgon of Chichester, occupying towards it much the same position as Dr. Hugh Broughton in relation to the Authorized Version, assailed it vehemently in the *Quarterly Review* with a series of articles, the unquestionable learning of which was largely neutralized by the extravagance and intemperance of their tone. The Dean, however, was not alone in his dislike of the very numerous changes introduced by the revisers into the familiar language of the English Bible, and there was a general unwillingness to adopt the new translation as a substitute for the Authorized Version in common use. When, four years later, the revision of the Old Testament was put forth, the popular verdict was more favourable. The improvements in interpretation of obscure passages were obvious, while the changes of language were less numerous; moreover, the language of the Old Testament books being less familiar than that of the Gospels, the changes in it passed

words in His holy writ, and indifferently for one thing in nature: we, if we will not be superstitious, may use the same liberty in our *English* versions out of *Hebrew* and *Greek*, for that copy or store that He hath given us."

with less observation. Scholars, however, were not by any means universally satisfied with it, and the reviews in the principal magazines, such as the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh*, were not favourable. It must be remembered, however, that most of the leading scholars of the country were members of the revision companies, and that the reviews, as a rule, were necessarily written by those who had not taken part in the work. The grounds of criticism, in the case of both Testaments, were two-fold: either the critics objected on scientific grounds to the readings adopted by the revisers, or they protested against the numerous changes in the language, as making the Revised Version less suitable than its predecessor to be the Bible of the people. But with respect to the first class of criticisms, it may fairly be supposed that the opinion of the revisers is entitled to greater weight than that of their critics. In a work involving thousands of details, concerning many hundreds of which the evidence is nearly equally balanced, it was not to be supposed that a result could be reached which would satisfy in every point either each member of the revision companies themselves, or each critic outside; and consequently the less weight can be attached to the fact that reviewers, who themselves had taken no direct part in the work, found many passages on which their own opinion differed from that to which the majority of the revisers had come.

More than seventy years have now passed since the publication of the Revised Version, and the dust of the original controversy has had time to die down. In less than that time the Authorized Version drove the Geneva Bible from the field; but there is no sign of a similar victory of the Revised over the Authorized. The general verdict is, we think, this: There is no doubt that the Revised represents, in the New Testament, a very superior Greek text. There is no doubt that in very many places, especially in the prophetic and poetical books of the Old Testament and in the Epistles in the New, it makes the meaning clearer and represents the original more accurately. On both these grounds the Revised Version is indispensable for anyone who really wishes to study the Bible. On the other hand, it is universally felt that very many of the verbal changes introduced by the revisers, especially in the Gospels (where they are more noticeable because of the greater familiarity of these books), are unnecessary and disturbing. Their principle, that the same English word should always be used to represent the same Greek word, introduced in order to meet the then common habit of text-hunting and verbal quibbling, is in

fact unsound. No two languages are so identical that the corresponding words are interchangeable. There are nuances of meaning and usage which defeat the word-for-word translator, and render his results unidiomatic or stiff or pedantic. The task of translation is a delicate one, and the Victorian scholars had not the same innate sense of style and verbal felicity as the Elizabethan and Jacobean. Further, the revisers were misled by their own scholarship. They applied (in such matters as the rendering of the tenses of the verb) the principles of Attic Greek. The discoveries of Greek papyri that have been made since their time have taught us much about the Hellenistic Greek of the period of the Septuagint and the New Testament; and we realize that it had its own usages which were not so strict as those of the great classical authors. We can safely be more idiomatic in our translation, without departing from faithfulness.

A distinction must accordingly be drawn between the Old Testament and the New, and even between the Gospels and the other books. In the Gospels the sense of discomfort from the constant changes of the familiar words is too great, and the changes, where they do not rest on a change in the text translated, are unnecessary. In the Old Testament, however, and in many passages in the Epistles, the reader who uses the Revised Version will often not be aware that a change has been made, while he will find that he understands what he is reading better than he did before. It is true that the Authorized Version has struck its roots too deeply into our language and literature, and is itself too great a monument of literary art, to be dispossessed without a preponderating balance of loss. We can no more do without the Authorized Version than we can do without Shakespeare and Bacon. Nevertheless we have every reason to be grateful to the Revised Version, which puts at the English reader's disposal the results of generations of devoted labour, and supplies him with a text of the Scriptures of his faith, on the soundness of which he can rely. Both are now essential parts of our heritage; and the final verdict must be: the Revised for study, the Authorized for reading.

If, in conclusion, the question be asked, What has been the general effect on our view of the Bible of the discoveries of the last fifty years? the answer would seem to be this: The discoveries of Greek papyri in Egypt have materially reduced the gap between the earliest extant manuscripts of the New Testament and Septuagint and the date at which the original books were written. They

have established, with a wealth of evidence which no other work of ancient literature can even approach, the substantial authenticity and integrity of the text of the Bible as we now possess it. They have also thrown much light on the conditions under which the books of the Bible circulated in the earliest Christian centuries. They have shown how different these were from the conditions applying to the works of pagan literature, and have made it easier to understand how the immense variety of readings, which we find in the extant manuscripts, came into existence. They have made us realize that there is no hard and fast rule for determining the original reading in every case; that the classification of authorities into separate families needs qualification, at least in the sense that the edges of such classifications must be smoothed off, and that though it is possible to decide that one group of authorities is on the whole superior, it is not possible to affirm that the truth is always to be found there and there exclusively. Our knowledge of the ancient versions, especially the Syriac and Coptic, and to a lesser degree the Armenian and Georgian, has been materially increased; and much valuable work has been done on the great mass of later manuscripts.

For all this we have every reason to be thankful. There is much work left for scholars to do; further discoveries of early manuscripts may yet be hoped for; but the general reader may await all such developments in security, confident that he has nothing to fear from the fullest and freest research; that he may, on the contrary, expect a constant accession of knowledge and of interest, and that in the end truth will prevail.



## CHAPTER XII

### REVISIONS AND TRANSLATIONS SINCE 1881

All English translators of the Bible since the sixteenth century have attempted to present the Scriptures in language easily understood, and most of them have tried to render the ancient tongues as closely and accurately as possible. But as Cardinal Newman said, to live is to change, and until a language dies it can claim no exemption from this law. Whether it is also true, as the Cardinal went on to say, that to become perfect is to have changed often, is another matter, but certainly after the lapse of centuries changed habits of speech throw a veil over what was once clear and direct enough. Old-fashioned or obsolete language has a certain charm, but it is apt to deflect the mind from the living message which it is the business of words to convey. We notice this less in the case of the English Bible than with other kinds of literature, no doubt because we have greater familiarity with it. In this respect it does not make much difference whether we are speaking of King James's Bible of 1611 or of the Revised Version of 1881-5, whose first principle was "to introduce as few alterations as possible into the Text of the Authorized Version consistently with faithfulness". But let us try the effect of a version two centuries nearer our own time than the Authorized Version. It is from *A Liberal Translation of the New Testament* of 1768, by Edward Harwood.

Do not think that the design of my coming into the world is to abrogate the law of Moses, and the prophets—I am only come to supply their deficiencies, and to give mankind a more complete system of morals.

For I tell you that the precepts of morality are of eternal and immutable obligation, and their power and efficacy shall never be relaxed or annulled, while the world endures.

(Matt. v. 17-18.)

Nobody could mistake this for 'current English', 'modern speech', or indeed for anything than what it is—an example, good or bad according to taste, of eighteenth-century English style. Furthermore, no one if he were translating the Bible today would deliberately try to imitate it, even if he could.

Let us take another example almost contemporary with Harwood's: the beginning of the Parable of the Prodigal from Anthony Purver's *New and Literal Translation* of 1764:

Some man had two sons; the younger of whom said to the father, Father, give me the Part of the Substance that is appointed: accordingly he divided to them the Living. (Luke xv. 11-12.)

Here we are brought up against a problem which besets all translators: namely that of choosing between a close literal rendering, which may do violence to English idiom as in the example from Purver; or of translating in the sense of a more or less free transposing into contemporary and idiomatic English, which can easily slip into paraphrase, but may more successfully convey the meaning of the original. In this respect Harwood, to our eyes and ears, seems to take unwarranted liberties with the original, often with ludicrous results. But to a certain class of his contemporaries the effect may not have been so different from similar, though more sober efforts of more recent times. At the risk of labouring the obvious, then, we need to bear in mind that any attempt to render from one language into another is bound to take some liberties with the original, and that the structure and idiom of Hebrew and Greek are not those of English at any point in its history.

There is another point worth noticing. Most translations of the Old and New Testaments since the Revised Version have had as their avowed object the rendering of the originals into modern or contemporary or plain English. So much is generally stated boldly on the title-page, and is at least defensible in view of what has been said above. But fresh manuscript evidence, and especially the discoveries of Egyptian papyri, together with the work of philological scholars, have resulted in a great deal more being known about the Biblical languages and the history of the Hebrew and Greek texts than was possible when the Revised Version was made. This in turn has provided another incentive to further revisions and attempts at translation, and on these grounds alone there is ample reason for the larger and more official undertakings such as the American *Revised Standard Version* and the new English translation now in progress. However, it will generally be found that after 1881 concern for the style of the translation and its up-to-datedness was more to the fore, while in recent years the tendency has been to concentrate more on the original text and the accuracy with which it may be presented to the English reader.

*Revisions and New Translations Since 1881*

The first example to be noticed is by way of being an exception to the tendency noticed above. In 1885, the same year in which the Revised Version of the Old Testament appeared, Helen Spurrell brought out *A New Translation of the Old Testament from the Original Hebrew*, a remarkable achievement for a woman who did not begin to learn the language until she was turned fifty. In style her translation shows no great break with the past, but she allowed herself considerable freedom in amending the text from the versions.

Another heroic attempt was made by Ferrar Fenton, who in his Preface to the Pentateuch says of himself:

in my youth I pledged a resolve to God to use my talents and acquirements to establish the authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures as revealed from Him to Man, by making them intelligible, through the use of modern English, to my countrymen . . . and although I have been engaged in active commercial affairs for over forty years, I never ceased my studies to that end.

His New Testament came out in 1895, and in 1903 he completed *The Holy Bible in Modern English* in one volume, the New Testament having meanwhile been retranslated from Westcott and Hort's Greek text. His reverence for the Massoretic text caused him to abandon the usual order of the Old Testament books in favour of that of the Hebrew Bible, and provoked the observation, "I discovered, in the Old Testament, that wherever the Greek translators had blundered in their rendering of the Hebrew or Chaldee text, every translation in every language . . . had one after another repeated the blunders of the Greek." It was perhaps not to be expected that he would always achieve the accuracy of more professional scholars, and his renderings show a certain amount of eccentricity as well as originality. But his work had a considerable following, and was reprinted as recently as 1938.

A venture of a different kind began to appear in 1893 entitled *The Sacred Books of the Old and New Testaments*. It was designed to cover each of the books of the Old Testament with a revised edition of the Hebrew text and, in a companion volume, a new English translation with comments, the whole prepared by the best scholars of Europe and America. In addition the literary sources of the different books were distinguished by the use of contrasting colours, from which it was known as *The Polychrome Bible*. This combination of literary and textual scholarship was

not carried through, however, and in the Old Testament did not go beyond Daniel, while the New Testament was not even begun.

A different approach which reflected a changing attitude to Scripture was seen in R. G. Moulton's *The Literary Study of the Bible*, published in America in 1896, in which the author called for greater attention to and appreciation of the different literary forms to be found in the Bible. It was followed by the separate publication of the individual books, in which the material was arranged and set out with appropriate headings and other typographical aids as prose narrative, poetry, and even in dramatic form. It was completed in 1907 and issued with notes in one volume as *The Modern Reader's Bible*. In pursuing his aim—"the best treatment of this literature is to read it"—the compiler has arranged the Old Testament as history (Genesis to Esther), prophets, poets, and philosophy (Wisdom books); while the New Testament opens with Luke-Acts (with the Pauline Epistles inserted into the narrative at appropriate points), followed by the rest of the New Testament Epistles, and other books (Matthew, Mark, John, Revelation). The text follows the English Revised Version closely, departing from it only occasionally in the choice of marginal readings and such small modifications as are necessary for setting out the material in literary form.

The early years of this century saw a number of attempts on both sides of the Atlantic to render the New Testament in the language of the day. *The Twentieth Century New Testament* (completed in 1901, revised edition 1904) was the work of an anonymous group of American scholars who attempted to "exclude all words and phrases not used in current English"—except in poetical passages, quotations from the Old Testament, and in the language of prayer. It was a completely new translation in which "every word has been carefully weighed", and was based on the text of Westcott and Hort. The order of the books is modified, having the Gospels (with Mark first), Acts, James, the Pauline Epistles in chronological succession, Hebrews, the rest of the Catholic Epistles, and Revelation. Everything is done by means of headings and indented sub-headings, quotation marks and so forth to give the text a modern appearance. But while the claim to render it in current English may be allowed, it cannot be said that the style is very distinguished.

Similar in character is R. F. Weymouth's *New Testament in Modern Speech* (1902, revised by E. Hampden-Cook, and again later by J. A. Robertson). The translation, which is freer and

smoother than that of the *Twentieth Century New Testament*, is based on a text published separately by Weymouth as *The Resultant Greek Testament*, which was formed by adopting the majority readings of modern editions of the Greek text. The version is more successful in the Epistles than in the Gospels, where a certain flatness of style hardly does justice to the original.

None of the versions so far mentioned achieved the enormous success of James Moffatt's *The New Testament, A New Translation*, first published in 1913. Whatever their merits, his was incomparably better. Moffatt allowed himself more room than his predecessors, and in consequence his translation is easier and more colloquial, without being a paraphrase. But what characterizes it most is its freshness, frequently illuminating, even if sometimes one feels that Moffatt sits just a little too loosely to the original. "I have tried," he says in his Preface to the New Testament, "not to sacrifice the spirit to the letter." At the same time he knew what he was doing: he was a master in New Testament scholarship, and his knowledge not only of the text, but also of the literary and lexical studies which have thrown so much light on early Christian writing, made him admirably fitted for the task. Moffatt was also well aware of the fact that every translation is at the same time an interpretation, and, as he says, "its effectiveness depends largely upon the extent to which the interpreter has been able to see the original and to convey his impressions of what he has seen". Used and understood with this in mind, his version is of interest and value to the student as well as the general reader.

In 1924 Moffatt followed up his earlier success with a translation of the whole Old Testament, a task which few scholars of his day and since would, or perhaps could, have contemplated. In the New Testament he had followed pretty closely, as to the Greek, von Soden's text. In the Old Testament he took liberties, in favour of the versions and of conjectural emendation, which were not altogether in keeping with the increasing respect of scholars for the Massoretic text, and this has been considered a weakness. There is also some attempt to indicate the different sources of the Pentateuch by means of italic type and brackets, and the poetry is set out in poetic form; but otherwise Moffatt depends less on typographical devices than any of the versions so far described. Both Old and New Testaments were finally revised by the author in 1935.

It would be too much to expect so vast an undertaking to be equally successful in all its parts, and it may well be that the Old Testament does not as a whole come up to the New. But taking

it by and large it is a remarkable achievement which in its time has provoked vast numbers of people to a fresh appreciation and understanding of the Biblical story.

Meanwhile in 1917 there appeared *The Holy Scriptures According to the Massoretic Text—A New Translation*, published by the Jewish Publication Society of America, which has become the version now generally used by English-speaking Jews. It was produced by Prof. Max Margolis and a board of American Jewish scholars, and is much closer in style to the older English versions.

Another American venture was initiated by the publication in 1923 of E. J. Goodspeed's *The New Testament: An American Translation*. This is a rendering of Westcott and Hort's text into "simple straightforward English of everyday expression", not merely in order to put it across, as Americans might say, but as Goodspeed points out, because this is most appropriate to the New Testament writers, who themselves wrote in the language of everyday life. The English has a distinct American flavour without being undignified, and is quite the best of the translations of the New Testament produced in America by individual scholars. It was followed in 1927 by *The Old Testament: An American Translation* by J. M. Powis Smith (the general editor), A. R. Gordon, J. Meek and L. Waterman, which was published with Goodspeed's New Testament in 1931 as *The Bible: An American Translation*. To this in 1939 was added Goodspeed's version of the Apocrypha, the whole work being entitled *The Complete Bible: An American Translation*. A sign of the times is that the translation of the Old Testament is nearer than might have been expected to the traditional style, and in the Preface it is remarked that a new version was needed not only to make the English text more intelligible, but because of the great advance in Hebrew and textual scholarship over the previous forty years. The Old Testament volume originally had a considerable body of textual notes which show a pretty free handling of the Massoretic text, but this was omitted from the complete edition.

### *Roman Catholic Translations*

One of the most notable features of recent years has been the important contribution to Biblical studies made by Roman Catholic scholars, and in Bible translation this has not been confined to new or revised versions of the official Vulgate text. *The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures* began to appear in 1913, under the general editorship of the Jesuit Fathers C. Lattey and J. Keating. The Old Testament volumes are translated from the

Hebrew, and each book is provided with a scholarly introduction and notes. So far Ruth, Psalms (complete in a small edition) and most of the Minor Prophets have appeared. A complete New Testament translated by Father Lattey was published in 1935, and in the Preface the author writes that the aim has been:

to stimulate the study of the Sacred Scriptures, first by providing as faithful a rendering as possible from the best available Greek text, and then by presenting it with all the aids to intelligibility and readableness which a rational typographical arrangement, plentiful notes, and the removal of all arbitrary interruptions of the sense could supply.

Unlike many modern translations this is in what may be called Biblical English style.

In America a revision of the Challoner-Rheims version of the Vulgate with textual and explanatory notes was published in 1941, and in 1954 *The New Testament Rendered from the Original Greek*, with explanatory notes, by Fathers Kleist and Lilley. Meanwhile the first volume of a translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew and Aramaic by American Roman Catholic scholars appeared in 1952.

In England the most noteworthy contribution in this field is the work of the late Monsignor Ronald Knox, who in 1939 was commissioned by the Roman Catholic hierarchy to undertake a new translation from the Latin Vulgate. The New Testament was published in 1945, and the Old in two volumes—Genesis to Esther, and Job to II Maccabees (with an alternative translation of the Psalms from the Latin text of the Pontifical Biblical Institute)—in 1949. In the Translator's Note prefaced to the Old Testament Mgr. Knox outlines his method:

Throughout the books which are included in the Jewish canon, I have translated from the Vulgate, with constant reference to the Massoretic text; I have naturally consulted the Septuagint in cases of difficulty, although (except in the Psalms) it seldom throws much light on discrepancies between the Latin and the Hebrew. In a handful of passages where the Vulgate text yields no tolerable sense, or yields a sense which evidently quarrels with the context, I have rendered from the Hebrew, giving a literal translation of the Latin in a foot-note. Where the Latin makes good sense, but is at variance with the Hebrew, I have indicated the fact of disagreement, but without giving the full Hebrew text if the difference is slight, or if the Hebrew text is itself unintelligible.

Speaking more generally it is, he says in the same Note, "my idea of how the Old Testament ought to be translated, and does not claim to do anything more". Some thirty years earlier Dr. Moffatt had posed some of the questions which confronted him, as a translator of the Bible into English: "How far is he justified in modernizing an Oriental book? How far can he assume that certain turns of expression have become naturalized in English by the Authorized Version?" He might well also have asked: "How far are the expressions naturalized in the Authorized Version due in turn to the Hebrew and Greek from which they were translated?" For Mgr. Knox these considerations do not apply, or they apply differently, since his version is of the Latin Vulgate of the Western Church; and certainly the most striking aspect of his achievement is his remarkable freedom from the gravitational pull of King James's Bible. As an essay in the art of translating it will bear comparison with anything of its kind, and has been justly praised for its excellent qualities.

### *Recent Translations of the New Testament*

If there are few today who, like Dr. Moffatt and Mgr. Knox, undertake a translation of the complete Bible, there has been in the last few years a steady stream of versions of the New Testament in whole or in part. In 1949 Bishop J. W. C. Wand (then archbishop of Brisbane) published *The New Testament Letters*, an interpretative "free translation or close paraphrase". Another and very successful attempt in the same manner is J. B. Phillips's *Letters to Young Churches* (1947), which effectively brings the Epistles before the reader as documents intimately bound up with the life of the Apostolic Church. This has since been followed by the same author's *The Gospels Translated into Modern English* (1952), and *The Young Churches in Action* (1955) which presents the Acts of the Apostles. T. F. and R. F. Ford brought out *The Letchworth Version of the New Testament* in 1948, and C. K. Williams *The New Testament: A New Translation in Plain English* in 1952. Protesting that the Greek Gospels have a literary quality and beauty all their own which is different from that of the Authorized Version E. V. Rieu has attempted a rendering which is included in a well-known series of translations as *The Four Gospels, A New Translation from the Greek* (1952).

Before going on to consider the two major undertakings of our time in this field mention should be made of *The Bible in Basic English*, published in 1949, which was prepared by a committee



under the direction of Prof. S. H. Hooke. This 'reduced' form of the English language comprises a vocabulary of 850 words, to which, however, were added fifty special Bible words, and others bringing the total up to 1,000. Within these limits it was inevitable that something should be lost, but in the outcome it is surprisingly little.

*The American Revised Standard Version*

We have seen in the last chapter on the Revised Version that the English revisers had, from 1872 onwards, the co-operation of a committee of American scholars who submitted their suggestions and criticisms to their English colleagues at each stage of the work. At the final revision the recommendations of the Americans which were not adopted were printed at the end of both Old and New Testaments, and it was agreed that for fourteen years no change should be made. The American Committee, however, remained in being, and at the end of the fourteen-year period of copyright it was decided to prepare an edition which would replace the American preferences in the text and at the same time make such other changes as were necessary to bring the text into conformity with American usage. At the same time marginal variants referring to the versions were considerably reduced, and the English preferences removed to an appendix. The new edition was published in 1901 and is known as the American Standard Version, but it had no great success—less even than the English Revised Version of 1881–5—and the King James's version continued widely in use. It was this comparative failure which, when the time came for the renewal of the copyright in 1928, prompted the International Council of Religious Education to set up a committee to consider the possibility of further revision; but not until 1937 was a decision reached and the new version authorized. This was:

to embody the best results of modern scholarship as to the meaning of the Scriptures, and express this meaning in English diction which is designed for use in public and private worship and preserve those qualities which have given to the King James version a supreme place in English literature.

The work was undertaken by a company of scholars representing all the principal Protestant denominations of America, which divided into two sections and included in the Old Testament group a representative of the Jewish faith. For the Old Testament

it was laid down, in accordance with recent tendencies in this field, that in rendering the Massoretic Hebrew with the aid of the versions, the revisers were to be as sparing as possible in their recourse to conjectural emendation, while for the New Testament Westcott and Hort's text was to be taken as standard. It was also decided at the outset that any changes made at the final stages must receive a two-thirds majority of the whole committee.

The New Testament was published in February 1946, the Old Testament appeared in September 1952, and the Revised Standard Version was complete—it is a matter for regret that the Apocrypha, although part of the King James's Bible, was not restored. Both parts met with immense success not only in America but also in England. The principles on which the revision was carried through prevented any very radical departure from traditional Biblical usage, while at the same time there is a great gain in clarity and directness of expression. Again, it partakes much more of the nature of an 'authorized version' since, in contrast to the numerous attempts at revision or translation by individuals, it is known to be the work of a body of scholars eminent in their own right as well as representative of the different Churches. In all respects it stands on its own merits as a most important landmark in the history of the English Bible.

### *The New English Translation*

Before the last war, when the copyright of the English Revised Version was running out, the Oxford University Press invited Prof. G. R. Driver of Oxford and Prof. J. M. Creed of Cambridge to submit specimens of revised passages of the Revised text from the Old and New Testaments respectively. The samples were accordingly prepared and considered, and it may be surmised that at this stage it was not intended to do more than bring the 1881-5 text abreast of modern scholarship. However, the death of Prof. Creed in 1940, and shortly afterwards the outbreak of war and the absence abroad of Prof. Driver on military service, brought these negotiations to a stop.

After the war the Church of Scotland took up the idea of a completely new translation of the Bible, although there was still influential support in England for the earlier proposal to revise the existing versions. The Scottish view, however, gained ground, and as a result of resolutions carried in the General Assembly and the Convocations, in 1947 a Joint Committee was appointed representing the Established Churches of England and Scotland,

the Free Churches of Great Britain, the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge and other interested bodies, to take in hand a new translation of the whole Bible (including the Apocrypha) into modern English. Two advisory and consultative panels were set up for the Old and New Testaments, and after receiving their reports the Joint Committee, meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Truro, organized itself for the task. Three panels were appointed to be responsible for translation, of which the convenors were Prof. T. H. Robinson (Old Testament and also Apocrypha) and Dr. C. H. Dodd (New Testament), while a fourth panel was appointed to give advice on literary and stylistic matters. On the death of Dr. Hunkin, bishop of Truro, in 1952 the bishop of Winchester, Dr. A. T. P. Williams, succeeded as Chairman of the Joint Committee, and there have been other changes: in 1949 Dr. Dodd became General Director of the whole project in addition to being Convenor of the New Testament panel, and Prof. Robinson has been succeeded by Prof. Driver as Convenor of the Old Testament panel and by Prof. G. D. Kilpatrick of that dealing with the Apocrypha.

In deciding on an entirely new translation rather than a revision of the existing versions the sponsors had in view three types of reader.

First, there are today many people who have no effective contact with any of the Churches, and for whom the Authorized Version has no associations. Such people may be intelligent and interested enough to understand what the Bible is about if it is presented to them in language which is acceptable. But being unfamiliar with the English of the seventeenth century the language of the current versions, if not actually unintelligible or misleading, has to them an air of unreality.

Second, there are the pupils growing up in the various kinds of 'modern' schools where the Bible is read in the course of their instruction.

Third, there are the people to whom the Authorized Version is so familiar that they are lulled rather than aroused by its phrases, but who would be more likely to respond to the stimulus of a new and contemporary version which will break through the barrier of familiarity.

With these three types of reader in view the translation will aim at being as accurate as may be without pedantry, and as intelligible to present-day readers as the original was to its first readers,

in an idiom which is genuinely English and such as will not repel by its strangeness or remoteness: a 'timeless' English which avoids both archaisms and transient modernisms.

The method by which the work is being carried out is briefly as follows. First a book or portion of a book is allocated to an individual translator (not necessarily a member of any of the panels) who produces a first draft. In the case of the Old Testament this is sent to Prof. Driver, who works through it with special regard to points of Hebrew and textual scholarship, and returns the draft with his suggestions to the translator, who is free to accept or reject them. Any differences are subsequently discussed with the translator and the full panel. In the case of the New Testament the first draft is submitted to all members of the panel, who at subsequent meetings work through the draft with the translator. In each case, when all outstanding questions with regard to translation have been settled, the revised draft is submitted to the panel of literary advisors, whose criticisms and suggestions are considered by the original panel in a further review. Agreement having been reached, the text is put aside, though with the possibility of reconsideration in the light of later work, until such time as it will be brought before the Joint Committee for final approval. After eight years the New Testament panel is a little more than half-way through its appointed task, and may be ready for publication about 1960. The Old Testament will in the nature of things take longer to complete, but it is possible that it may be ready by 1970. If it is remembered that the Revised Version was fourteen years in the making, and the American Revised Standard Version fifteen, and that these were revisions of an existing text and not completely new translations, the period of waiting will not seem excessive.

There will thus eventually be two major versions of the English Bible belonging to the mid-twentieth century, one entirely new, the other (the American Revised Standard Version) having a line of descent running back to Tyndale. Each in its own way will have been prepared to meet the varying needs of our time, and they will be complementary to one another in performing the task which confronts the Church in each generation—that of bringing the Word of God to men. They will have this in common, that the best scholarship, American and English, has been devoted to them, and together will exemplify that scribe of the Kingdom who, as St. Matthew tells us "bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old".

## APPENDIX 1

### NOTABLE VARIOUS READINGS

In this appendix a selection is given of a hundred of the most notable various readings in the Gospels and Acts, in order that the reader may have some idea of the character and importance of these variants. In the fifty examples taken from the Gospels, the contrast is between the 'received' or Byzantine text, which is translated in the Authorized Version, on the one hand, and the readings of the earlier manuscripts, which are for the most part followed in modern editions and in the Revised Version, on the other. In those taken from the Acts, it is between the great mass of manuscripts, both early and late, on the one hand, and the peculiar readings of the Western group of authorities (principally Codex Bezae and its allies) on the other.

The symbols used are as follows :

- ⲁ A B C D, etc. Greek uncial MSS. (see pp. 191-217).
- Fam. 1, fam. 13, 33. Greek minuscule MSS. (see pp. 217-19).
- OL. Old Latin version.
- a, b, c, gig, etc. Old Latin MSS.
- Diat. Diatessaron.
- OS. Old Syriac version.
- OS<sup>s</sup>. Sinaitic MS. of Old Syriac.
- OS<sup>c</sup>. Curetonian MS. of Old Syriac.
- Sah. Sahidic version.
- TR. The received or Byzantine text, found in the vast majority of later Greek MSS., and translated in the AV.
- AV. Authorized Version of 1611.
- WH or WH<sup>1</sup>. Westcott and Hort's edition of the Greek text, 1881.
- WH<sup>2</sup>. Readings regarded by Westcott and Hort as possible, but less probable.
- RV or RV<sup>1</sup>. Revised Version of 1881.
- RV<sup>2</sup>. Margin of Revised Version.

#### *Authorized Version*

#### *Other Readings*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1. Mt. i. 16. Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ: ⲁ B, TR, WH, RV.</p> | <p>(a) Jacob begat Joseph, to whom the Virgin Mary being espoused bore Jesus who is called Christ: Θ, fam. 13, OL (h), OS<sup>c</sup>.</p> |
|---|--|

*Authorized Version**Other Readings*

2. Mt. iii, 16. Jesus when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water.
3. Mt. v, 44. Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you: D, TR, OL (some MSS.).
4. Mt. vi, 13. For thine is the kingdom, etc.: L W Θ, fam. 13, TR, OL (some MSS.), RV<sup>2</sup>.
5. Mt. xvi, 2, 3. When it is evening . . . the signs of the times: C D W Θ, fam. 1, TR, OL, WH<sup>2</sup>, RV<sup>1</sup>.
6. Mt. xvii, 21. Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting: C D W, famm. 1, 13, TR, OL, RV<sup>2</sup>.
7. Mt. xviii, 11. For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost: D W, OL, OS<sup>c</sup>, TR, RV<sup>2</sup> (cf. Lk. xix, 10).
8. Mt. xx, 16. For many be called, but few chosen: C D W Θ, famm. 1, 13, TR, OL, OS. From xxii, 14.
9. Mt. xx, 28.
10. Mt. xx, 33.
11. Mt. xxi, 44. And whosoever shall fall on this stone . . . grind him to powder: K B C W, famm. 1, 13, TR, OS<sup>c</sup>, Sah, WH<sup>1</sup>, RV<sup>1</sup>.
12. Mt. xxiii, 27. Which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones: K B, etc., TR, WH, RV.

(b) Jacob begat Joseph, and Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus, who is called Christ: OS.<sup>a</sup> OL (a, g), Diat., and Justin add "and a great light shone around".

Om. K B, fam. 1, OS, Sah, WH, RV.

Om. K B D Z, fam. 1, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>.

Om. K B, fam. 13, OS, Sah, WH<sup>1</sup>, RV<sup>2</sup>.

Om. K B Θ, 33, OL (e), OS, Sah, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>.

Om. K B L Θ, fam. 1, fam. 13, 33, OL (e), OS<sup>a</sup>, Sah, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>.

Om. K B L, Sah, WH, RV.

D Φ, OL, OS<sup>c</sup> add "But seek ye to increase from that which is little, and to become less from that which is greater. But when ye enter in and are invited to dine, sit not down in the higher places, lest perchance one more honourable than thou shall come, and he that invited thee come and say to thee, Go down lower, and thou be shamed. But if thou liest down in the worse place, and one worse than thou come in, he that invited thee will say, Go up higher, and that shall be to thine advantage."

OL (c) adds: "And Jesus said to them, Believe ye that I can do this? And they answered him, Yea, Lord." OS<sup>c</sup> adds "and we may see thee".

Om. D, 33, OL, OS<sup>a</sup>, WH<sup>2</sup>, RV<sup>2</sup>.

Without the tomb appears beautiful, but within it is full of dead men's bones: D, Diat.

*Authorized Version*

13. Mt. xxiv. 36. Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven: L W, fam. 1, TR, OS<sup>s</sup>, Sah, RV<sup>2</sup>.
14. Mt. xxv. 41. Everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: K B, etc., TR, WH, RV.
15. Mt. xxvii. 49. Let us see whether Elias will come to save him: A D W Θ, famm. 1, 13, TR, OL, OS<sup>s</sup>, WH<sup>1</sup>, RV<sup>1</sup>.
16. Mk. i. 2. In the prophets: A W, fam. 13, TR, RV<sup>2</sup>. [Correction of an error, the quotation being from Malachi as well as Isaiah.]
17. Mk. ix. 44, 46. Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched: A D Θ, fam. 13, TR, OL. [Repeated from verse 48.]
18. Mk. ix. 49. And every sacrifice shall be salted with salt: A C D Θ, TR, OL, RV<sup>2</sup> (cf. Lev. ii. 13).
19. Mk. x. 27. With men it is impossible, but not with God: for with God all things are possible: K A B, etc., TR, WH, RV.
20. Mk. xiii. 2. There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down: K A B, etc., TR, WH, RV.
21. Mk. xvi. 3.
22. Mk. xvi. 9-20. Now when Jesus was risen . . . Amen: A C D L W Θ, famm. 1, 13, TR, OL, OS<sup>c</sup>, Sah (some MSS.), RV<sup>1</sup>.
23. Lk. iv. 18. To heal the broken-hearted: A Θ, fam. 1, TR, OL (f). From Isa. lxi. 1.
24. Lk. v. 10, 11. And so was also James, and John, the sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not; from

*Other Readings*

K\* B D Θ Φ, fam. 13, OL, WH, RV<sup>1</sup> add "neither the Son".

Everlasting fire, which my Father hath prepared for the devil and his angels: D, fam. 1, OL.

K B C L, WH<sup>2</sup>, RV<sup>2</sup> add "And another took a spear, and pierced his side, and there came out water and blood" (from Jn. xix. 34).

In Isaiah the prophet: K B D L Θ, fam. 1, 33, OL, Sah, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>.

Om. K B C L W, fam. 1, OL (k), OS<sup>s</sup>, Sah, WH, RV.

Om. K B L W, fam. 1, OL (k), OS<sup>s</sup>, Sah, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>.

(a) With men it is impossible, but with God it is possible: D, OL (a, k).

(b) Famm. 1 and 13 omit "for with God all things are possible".

D W, OL add "and in three days another shall rise up [or 'shall be raised up'] without hands".

OL (k) adds "But suddenly at the third hour of the day darkness was made throughout the whole world, and angels descended from heaven, and the Son of God arose in splendour, and the angels ascended with him, and immediately it was made light."

(a) Om. K B, OS<sup>s</sup>, WH, RV<sup>2</sup>.

(b) And they reported briefly to those who were with Peter all that had been enjoined on them. And after this Jesus himself appeared, and from the rising to the setting of the sun sent forth through them the holy and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation: L Ψ, OL (k), Sah.

Om. K B D L W, fam. 13, OL, OS<sup>s</sup>, Sah, WH, RV.

And there were partners with him, James and John, sons of Zebedee; and he said unto them, Come hither, and be not fishers of fish, for I will make you fishers of men. And they

*Authorized Version*

henceforth thou shalt catch men.  
And when they had brought  
their ships to land, they forsook  
all, and followed him: So nearly  
all authorities.

25. Lk. vi. 4.  
  
26. Lk. vi. 48. For it was founded up-  
on a rock: A C D Θ, famm. 1, 13,  
TR, OL, RV<sup>2</sup>. From Mt. vii. 25.  
27. Lk. ix. 54. Even as Elias did:  
A C D W Θ, TR, OL, RV<sup>1</sup>.  
28. Lk. ix. 55. And said, Ye know  
not what manner of spirit ye  
are of; for the Son of man is  
not come to destroy men's lives,  
but to save them: D, (part) Θ,  
famm. 1, 13, TR, OL, OS<sup>c</sup>, with  
some varieties in detail, RV<sup>2</sup>.  
29. Lk. xi. 2-4. Our Father, which  
art in heaven: A C D W Θ,  
fam. 13, TR, OL, OS<sup>c</sup>, Sah, RV<sup>2</sup>.  
Thy will be done, as in heaven,  
so in earth: κ A C D W Θ, fam.  
13, TR, OL, RV<sup>2</sup>.  
But deliver us from evil:  
A C D W Θ, fam. 13, TR, OL,  
OS<sup>c</sup>, RV<sup>2</sup>. [Expanded in accord-  
ance with Mt. vi. 9-13.]  
30. Lk. xi. 35, 36. Take heed there-  
fore that the light which is in thee  
be not darkness. If thy whole  
body therefore be full of light,  
having no part dark, the whole  
shall be full of light, as when the  
bright shining of a candle doth  
give thee light: So nearly all  
authorities.  
  
31. Lk. xi. 53, 54. And as he said  
these things unto them, the  
scribes and the Pharisees began  
to urge him vehemently, and  
to provoke him to speak of many  
things: laying wait for him, and  
seeking to catch something out

*Other Readings*

when they heard this left all their  
gear on the beach and followed him:  
D, OL (e).

D adds the following verse: "The  
same day, beholding one working on  
the sabbath, he saith unto him, Man,  
if thou knowest what thou doest, thou  
art blessed; but if thou knowest not,  
thou art accursed and a transgressor  
of the law."

Because it had been well builded:  
κ B L W, 33, Sah, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>. OS<sup>8</sup>  
omits the clause.

Om. P<sup>45</sup> κ B L, OL (e), OS, Sah, WH,  
RV<sup>1</sup>.

Om. κ A B C L W, OL (l), OS<sup>8</sup>,  
Sah, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>. om. for the Son of  
man *etc.* D.

Father: κ B L, fam. 1, OS<sup>8</sup>, WH,  
RV<sup>1</sup>.

(a) Thy will be done: OL (a), Sah,  
(b) Om. P<sup>45</sup> B L, fam. 1, OS, WH,  
RV<sup>1</sup>.

Om. κ B L, fam. 1, OS<sup>8</sup>, Sah.

(a) If therefore the light that is in  
thee be darkness, how great is that  
darkness: D, OL [from Mt. vi. 23b].

(b) Take heed therefore that the  
light that is in thee be not darkness.  
If the body that is in thee hath no  
lamp shining, it is dark to thee; how  
much more when the lamp shineth  
doth it lighten thee: OL (f, q), OS<sup>8</sup>.

(c) Take heed therefore that the light  
that is in thee be not darkness. If the  
light that is in thee be darkness, how  
great is that darkness: OS<sup>c</sup>.

(a) And when he was come out from  
thence, the scribes and the Pharisees  
began to press upon him vehemently,  
and to provoke him to speak of many  
things; laying wait for him, to catch  
something out of his mouth: P<sup>45</sup> κ B  
L, WH, RV.



*Authorized Version*

of his mouth, that they might  
accuse him: A, etc., TR.

32. Lk. xxii. 17-20. (The Last Supper) And he took the cup . . . and he took bread . . . Likewise also the cup after supper . . . which is shed for you:  $\kappa^a$  A B, etc., TR, WH<sup>2</sup>, RV<sup>1</sup>.

33. Lk. xxii. 43, 44. And there appeared an angel . . . drops of blood falling down to the ground:  $\kappa^a$  D L  $\Theta$ , fam. 1, TR, OL, OS<sup>c</sup>, WH<sup>2</sup>, RV<sup>1</sup>.

34. Lk. xxiii. 34. Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do:  $\kappa^a$  A C L, fam. 1, 13, TR, OL (c, e), OS<sup>c</sup>, WH<sup>2</sup>, RV<sup>1</sup>.

35. Lk. xxiii. 38. In letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew:  $\kappa^a$  A D\* W  $\Theta$ , fam. 1, 13, TR, OL. [Cf. Jn. xix. 19.]

36. Lk. xxiii. 42, 43. And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To day shalt thou be with me in paradise: So nearly all authorities.

37. Lk. xxiii. 53.

38. Lk. xxiv. 6. He is not here, but is risen: Nearly all authorities, WH<sup>2</sup>, RV<sup>1</sup>.

39. Lk. xxiv. 12. Then arose Peter . . . come to pass: Nearly all authorities, WH<sup>2</sup>, RV<sup>1</sup>.

*Other Readings*

(b) And as he said these things unto them before all the people, the Pharisees and the lawyers began to be vehement, and to converse with him about many things, seeking to take some occasion against him, that they might find something whereof to accuse him: D W  $\Theta$ , OL, OS, Diat.

(a) Omit 19b, 20 "which is given for you . . . which is shed for you": D, OL (a, d, ff, etc.), WH<sup>1</sup>, RV<sup>2</sup>.

(b) Omit 19b, 20, and prefix 19a to 17, 18: OL (b, e).

(c) Omit 20, and prefix 19 to 17, 18: OS<sup>c</sup>.

(d) Arrange in order 19, 20a, 17, 20b, 18: OS<sup>a</sup>.

(e) Omit 17, 18: Syr (Peshitta).

All apparently attempts to get rid of the double mention of the Cup.

Om.  $\kappa^a$  A B W, fam. 13, OL (f), OS<sup>a</sup>, Sah, WH<sup>1</sup>, RV<sup>2</sup>.

Om.  $\kappa^a$  B D\* W  $\Theta$ , OL (a, b), OS<sup>a</sup>, Sah, WH<sup>1</sup>, RV<sup>2</sup>.

Om.  $\kappa^{ca}$  B C L, OL (a), OS, Sah, WH, RV.

And turning unto the Lord, he said unto him, Remember me in the day of thy coming. And Jesus answered and said unto him that rebuked him, Be of good cheer, today shalt thou be with me in paradise: D.

(a) Fam. 13 adds "and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre".

(b) D, OL (c), Sah add "and when he had laid him, he placed a great stone on the sepulchre which twenty men could scarce have rolled".

Om. D, OL, WH<sup>1</sup>, RV<sup>2</sup>.

Om. D, OL (a, b, e, l), WH<sup>1</sup>, RV<sup>2</sup>.

| <i>Authorized Version</i>   | <i>Other Readings</i>  |
|---|--|
| 40. Lk. xxiv. 36. And saith unto them, Peace be unto you: Nearly all authorities, WH <sup>2</sup> , RV <sup>1</sup> .   | Om. D, OL, WH <sup>1</sup> , RV <sup>2</sup> .   |
| 41. Lk. xxiv. 40. And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them his hands and his feet: Nearly all authorities, WH <sup>2</sup> , RV <sup>1</sup> .                       | Om. D, OL, OS, WH <sup>1</sup> , RV <sup>2</sup> .   |
| 42. Lk. xxiv. 51. And carried up into heaven: Nearly all authorities, WH <sup>2</sup> , RV <sup>1</sup> .   | Om. $\aleph$ * D, OL, OS <sup>a</sup> , WH <sup>1</sup> , RV <sup>2</sup> .  |
| 43. Jn. i. 18. The only begotten Son: A W $\Theta$ , fam. 1, TR, OL, OS <sup>c</sup> , RV <sup>1</sup> .  | The only begotten God: P <sup>66</sup> $\aleph$ B C L, Sah, WH, RV <sup>2</sup> .  |
| 44. Jn. v. 3. Waiting for the moving of the water: A <sup>2</sup> D W $\Theta$ , famm. 1, 13, TR, OL, RV <sup>2</sup> .   | Om. P <sup>66</sup> $\aleph$ A* B C L, OL (q), OS, Sah, WH, RV <sup>1</sup> .  |
| 45. Jn. v. 4. For an angel . . . whatsoever disease he had: A L $\Theta$ , famm. 1, 13, TR, OL, RV <sup>2</sup> .   | Om. P <sup>66</sup> $\aleph$ B C D W, 33, OL (f, l, q), OS, Sah, WH, RV <sup>1</sup> .   |
| 46. Jn. vi. 56.   | D, and in part OL (a, ff <sup>2</sup> ) add: As the Father is in me and I in the Father. Verily, verily, I say unto you, If ye receive not the body of the Son of man as the bread of life, ye have not life in him. |
| 47. Jn. vii. 53–viii. 11. The Woman taken in Adultery: D, TR, OL (b e), RV <sup>2</sup> .   | Om. P <sup>66</sup> $\aleph$ A B C L W $\Theta$ , OL (a, f, q), OS, Sah, WH, RV <sup>1</sup> . Fam. 1 places at end of Gospel, fam. 13 after Lk. xxi. 38.  |
| 48. Jn. viii. 59. Going through the midst of them, and so passed by: $\aleph$ <sup>ca</sup> A C L $\Theta$ <sup>c</sup> , famm. 1, 13, TR, OL (f, q), RV <sup>2</sup> . | Om. $\aleph$ * B D W $\Theta$ *, OL, OS <sup>a</sup> , Sah, WH, RV <sup>1</sup> .  |
| 49. Jn. xi. 39.   | OS <sup>a</sup> adds: Why are they taking away the stone?  |
| 50. Jn. xii. 8. For the poor always ye have with you; but me ye have not always: Nearly all authorities.  | Om. D, OS <sup>a</sup> .   |

In the following selection of readings from Acts (except where otherwise stated; see viii. 37, xviii. 21, xxiv. 6–8, xxviii. 16, 29) the text translated in the left-hand column is that of the great mass of authorities, both Alexandrian and Byzantine. Those in the right-hand column are readings of the Western type, found in D and some OL MSS., as indicated.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| 51. Acts i. 2. Until the day in which he was taken up, after that he through the Holy Ghost had given commandments unto the apostles whom he had chosen. | Until the day in which he chose the apostles through the Holy Ghost, and commanded them to preach the Gospel: D (in part), Sah. |
| 52. Acts i. 5. Not many days hence.  | Which also ye shall receive not many days hence at the Pentecost: D, Sah (in part).   |

53. Acts iv. 18. And they called them. And when they were agreed in their judgment they spake unto them: D, OL (h, gig).
54. Acts v. 15. Add: For they were relieved from every sickness that each of them had: D, OL (gig, p). E (in part).  
Add: And each of them went his way to his own place: D.
55. Acts v. 18. Ye cannot overthrow them, neither you nor kings nor tyrants. Refrain therefore from these men, lest haply, etc.: D, OL (h).
56. Acts v. 39. Ye cannot overthrow them; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God. Add: because they were confounded by him with all boldness. Being unable therefore to look the truth in the face: D, OL (h). E (t) similar.  
Add: and hid him in the sand: D (from LXX).
57. Acts vi. 10. Add: and he ceased not to weep much: D.
58. Acts vii. 24. Om. P<sup>45</sup> & A B C, most other MSS., Sah, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>.
59. Acts viii. 24. The Holy Spirit descended on the eunuch. But the angel of the Lord caught away Philip from him: A<sup>1</sup> (D is defective here) and a few other MSS., OL (p).
60. Acts viii. 37. And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God: E (D is defective here), TR, OL, RV<sup>2</sup>.
61. Acts viii. 39. The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip. Why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks [from xxvi. 14]. And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said unto him, I am Jesus of Nazareth [from xxii. 8], whom thou persecutest. And he, trembling and astonished at that which had happened unto him, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise: OL (with variations; D is defective). Partly in E and AV.
62. Acts ix. 4, 5. Why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But arise. Hearing a voice, but seeing no man with whom he spoke: OL (gig). And he said to them, Raise me up from the earth. And when they had raised him, when his eyes were opened, he saw nothing: OL (h, p, w).
63. Acts ix. 7, 8. Hearing a voice, but seeing no man. And Saul arose from the earth; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man [or nothing: & A B]. And as Peter drew near to Caesarea, one of the servants ran before him and made known that he was there. And Cornelius sprang forth and met him: D, OL (gig).
64. Acts x. 25. And as Peter was coming in, Cornelius met him.

65. Acts xi. 2. And when Peter was come up to Jerusalem. Peter therefore long time desired to journey to Jerusalem; and exhorting the brethren and confirming them, speaking many words, <he went forth> through the regions, teaching them: who also met with them and declared unto them the grace of God: D, OL (p, w).
66. Acts xi. 17. What was I, that I could withstand God? Add: that I should not give the Holy Spirit to them that believed on him: D, OL (p, w).
67. Acts xi. 27, 28. And in these days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch. And there stood up one of them, named Agabus, and signified. And in these days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch, and there was much joy. And when we were gathered together, one of them, named Agabus, spake signifying: D, OL (p, w).
68. Acts xii. 10. And they went out, and passed on through one street. And they went out, and descended the seven steps, and passed on through one street: D, OL (p).
69. Acts xii. 23. And he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost. And coming down from his throne, he was eaten of worms while yet living, and so gave up the ghost: D.
70. Acts xiii. 33. Add: Desire of me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession: D (from Ps. ii. 8).
71. Acts xiii. 43. Add: And it came to pass that the word of God went through all the city: D E, OL (w).
72. Acts xiv. 2. But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected against the brethren. But the chiefs of the synagogues of the Jews and the rulers stirred up persecution against the righteous, and made the minds of the Gentiles evil affected against the brethren; but the Lord speedily gave peace: D, and partially E.
73. Acts xiv. 7. Add: And the whole multitude was stirred up at the teaching. But Paul and Barnabas abode still in Lystra: D E, OL (h, w).
74. Acts xv. 2. When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation with them, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question. When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and disputation together with them,—for Paul spake, affirming vehemently that they should remain as they had believed, but they that had come from Jerusalem brought word to Paul and Barnabas and certain others that they should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders, to be judged among them about this question: D, OL (gig, w).
- Acts xv. 5. But there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed. But those that brought word to them that they should go up to the elders rose up, being certain of the sect of the Pharisees: D.

76. Acts xv. 20. Add: And do not unto others what you would not should be done unto you: D, Sah. So also in verse 29.
77. Acts xvi. 4. And as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem. And passing through the cities they preached and delivered to them with all boldness the Lord Jesus Christ, at the same time delivering also the commandments of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem: D
78. Acts xvi. 35. And when it was day, the magistrates sent the serjeants. And when it was day the magistrates came together in the market-place, and remembering the earthquake that had taken place they were afraid, and sent the serjeants: D.
79. Acts xvi. 39. And they came and besought them, and brought them out, and desired them to depart out of the city. And they came with many friends to the prison, and besought them to depart, saying, We knew not concerning you that you are righteous men. And they brought them out and besought them, saying, Depart out of this city, lest they gather together again crying out against you: D, and partially a few other MSS.
80. Acts xvii. 15. Unto Athens. Add: But he passed by Thessaly, for he was prevented from preaching the word to them: D.
81. Acts xviii. 21. But bade them farewell, saying, I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem; but I will return again unto you, if God will: D P<sub>2</sub>, TR, OL (gig). AV has the Western reading here, exceptionally. A few authorities (but not D) add, "But Aquila he left in Ephesus." But taking his leave of them, and saying, I will return again unto you, if God will: K A B E, Sah, WH, RV.
82. Acts xviii. 27. And when he was disposed to pass into Achaia, the brethren wrote, exhorting the disciples to receive him: who, when he was come, helped them much which had believed through grace. And certain Corinthians who were dwelling in Ephesus, when they had heard him, besought him to go with them to their country. And when he consented, the Ephesians wrote to the disciples in Corinth to receive him; who, when he had taken up his abode in Achaia, helped much in the churches: D. P<sup>38</sup>, OL (gig) last part.
83. Acts xix. 1. And it came to pass that, while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper coasts came to Ephesus. But when Paul desired after his own judgment to journey to Jerusalem, the Spirit bade him turn aside into Asia. And passing through the upper coasts he cometh to Ephesus: D, P<sup>38</sup>.
84. Acts xix. 9. Disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus. Add: from the fifth hour till the tenth: D, two other MSS., OL (gig).
85. Acts xix. 14. And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so. Among whom also the sons of one Seeva, a priest, desired to do the same thing; (for) it was their custom

86. Acts xxi. 16. And brought with them one Mnason of Cyprus, an old disciple, with whom we should lodge. And when we were come to Jerusalem. to exorcise such persons. And entering in to the man that was possessed they began to call upon him the name, saying, We adjure thee by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth, to come forth: D, P<sup>38</sup>.  
And these brought us to those with whom we should lodge. And coming to a certain village, we were with one Mnason, of Cyprus, an old disciple. And departing thence we came to Jerusalem: D.
87. Acts xxi. 25. As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and concluded that they [observe no such thing, save only that] they keep themselves: so TR, AV; & A B, Sah, WH, RV, omit the words in brackets. As touching the Gentiles which believe, they have nothing to say against thee, for we have written and concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves: D, OL (gig), and partly C E, Sah.

After Acts xxii. 28, D is defective. The readings of the Western text are given from other authorities.

88. Acts xxiii. 15. Now therefore ye with the council signify to the chief captain. Now therefore we ask you to do this for us; gather the council together, and signify to the chief captain: P<sup>48</sup>, OL (h, gig), Sah.
89. Acts xxiii. 23, 24. Make ready . . . at the third hour of the night, and provide them beasts, that they may set Paul on, and bring him safe unto Felix the governor. Make ready. . . ; and at the third hour of the night he commands them to be ready to set forth. And he gave orders to the centurions to provide beasts, that they might set Paul on, and bring him safe by night to Casarea unto Felix the governor. For he was afraid lest perchance the Jews might seize him and slay him, and he himself might therewithal incur the charge of having received money: P<sup>48</sup>, a few minuscules, OL (some MSS.).
90. Acts xxiii. 27. Rescued him, having understood that he was a Roman. Rescued him, crying out and saying that he was a Roman: P<sup>48</sup>, OL (gig).
91. Acts xxiv. 6-8. Whom we took: & A B, etc., OL (some MSS.), Sah, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>. Add: and would have judged . . . to come unto thee: E, some other MSS., TR, OL (some MSS.), AV, RV<sup>2</sup>.
92. Acts xxiv. 10. Beckoned unto him to speak. Beckoned unto him to make his defence for himself. And he, taking on him the appearance of one inspired, said: Syr (Harkl. marg.).
93. Acts xxiv. 24. With his wife Drusilla, which was a Jewess, he sent for Paul. With his wife Drusilla, which was a Jewess, who also asked to see Paul and hear his word. Being willing therefore to gratify her, he sent for Paul: Syr (Harkl. marg.).

94. Acts xxiv. 27. And Felix, willing to show the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound.  
 95. Acts xxv. 24, 25. Crying that he ought not to live any longer. But when I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death, and that he himself hath appealed to Augustus, I have determined to send him.  
 96. Acts xxvii. 1. And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band.  
 97. Acts xxviii. 16. Paul was suffered to dwell by himself:  $\aleph$  A B, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>.  
 98. Acts xxviii. 19.  
 99. Acts xxviii. 29. Verse omitted by  $\aleph$  A B E, etc., WH, RV<sup>1</sup>.  
 100. Acts xxviii. 31.
- But Paul he left in custody by reason of Drusilla: two minuscules, Syr (Harkl. marg.).  
 That I might give him over to torture without defence. But I could not give him up, by reason of the commands which we have from Augustus. But I bade them, if anyone desired to accuse him, to follow me to Cæsarea, where he was under guard; who, coming thither, cried out that he might be removed from life. And when I had heard both parties, I perceived that he was in no way worthy of death; but when I said, Wilt thou be judged among them at Jerusalem? he appealed unto Cæsar: Syr (Harkl. marg.).  
 So therefore the governor ordained to send him to Cæsar. And on the next day he called a certain centurion, named Julius, of Augustus' band, and delivered Paul to him, with other prisoners also. And we went on board the boat and began the voyage to Italy: one OL MS. (h), Syr (Harkl. marg.).  
 The centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard; but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself without the camp: TR, OL, AV, RV<sup>2</sup> (except the last three words, which are in OL and one Greek MS.).  
 Add: but that I may deliver my soul from death: OL and two Greek MSS.  
 Verse included in TR, AV, RV<sup>2</sup>.  
 Add: that this is Jesus the Son of God, by whom all the world will be judged: a few Latin MSS.

# GENERAL INDEX

## A

Abbot, Ezra, 223  
 Abbott, T. K., 177  
 Adams, A. W., 140, 244  
 Adiabene, 134  
 Ælfric, Archbishop; Anglo-Saxon translation of O.T., 252 n., 270  
 African Latin version of Bible: O.T., 140; N.T., 239  
 Ahiram, sarcophagus of, 26  
 Aidan, St., 254, 265  
 Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV), 24  
 Akhmimic (Coptic) version: O.T., 137; N.T., 235  
 Akiba, Rabbi, 75, 76, 82, 102, 103, 112, 153  
 Aland, K., 163, 165, 182  
 Alcuin: revision of Vulgate, 257-9, 261, Plate xxxvi  
 Aldhelm: quotations of, 252 n.; Anglo-Saxon Psalter, 266  
 Aldred: Anglo-Saxon gloss in Lindisfarne Gospels, 255, 268  
 Aldus: first printed Septuagint, 128  
 'Alexandrian' text: Hort's classification, 171 ff.; applied to Hort's 'Neutral' text, 247  
 Alfred, King: translation of part of Bible, 267  
 Alphabet, 21, 25 ff.; Egyptian, 22; Phoenician, 26 ff.; Ras Shamra cuneiform, 29  
 Alt, O., 87  
 American versions since 1881, 321, 323, 325, 326, 328-9  
 American Revised Standard Version: *see* Revised Standard Version  
 Anglo-Celtic Vulgate MSS., 253-4  
 Anglo-Saxon translations, 266-71; interlinear glosses, 268; Gospels, 268-70  
 Aphraates: quotations of, 136  
 Apocrypha: books of, 68, 98, 100, 292; in Syriac version, 135; in Ethiopic version, 138; in Latin version, 140-1; in English Bibles, 291-3  
 Aquila: Greek version of O.T., 69, 71, 75, 96, 103, 104, 105-8, 112, 123, 125, 130, Plate xiii  
 Arabic version: O.T., 131, 138, 145; N.T., 238  
 Aramaic: language used by Jews, 94, 101; Targums, 69, 76, 86, 94-7, 134  
 Archetype: theory of Hebrew text, 70-2  
 Aristas, Letter of, 98-9, 110-11, 112  
 Aristides, Apology of, 227  
 Aristion, 236-7  
 Armenian version: O.T., 138, 145; N.T. 235-7

Asher, Aaron ben, 84-5; Moses ben, 84  
 Assyrian ('square') script, 73, 89  
 Athanasius, St., 59  
 Augustine, St., Archbishop of Canterbury, 265  
 Augustine of Hippo, St., 140, 239, 241, 251  
 Authorities: grouping of, 166-78, 246-9  
 Authorized Version of English Bible, 147, 162, 303-8, Plate XLVIII

## B

Baber, H. H., 202  
 Babylon, Jewish school of Massoretes, 76-7  
 Bancroft, Richard, Bishop of London, 303-4  
 Bar Kochba, 33, 82  
 Barnabas, Epistle of, 104, 194  
 Barnes, W. E., 136  
 Barthélemy, D., 112  
 Bede, Venerable: and Cod. Laudianus, 213; eminence in scholarship, 257; translation of St. John's Gospel, 266-7; quotations of, 252 n.  
 Bengel, J. A., 168, 180  
 Bensly, R. L.: and Sinaitic Syriac, 227; and lost part of 2 Esdras, 312  
 Bentley, Richard, 164, 179-80, 206, 239, 244, 263  
 Berger, Samuel, 263  
 Beuron: edition of Old Latin version by Fathers of, 140, 242  
 Beza, Theodore, 207, 211, 298-9, 309; edition of Greek N.T., 161; and Geneva Bible, 299-300  
 Billen, A. V., 140  
 Biscop, Benedict, 255  
 Bishops' Bible, 300-2, 304, 306  
 Black, Matthew, 230  
 Blake, R. P., 237  
 Boghazköy, 23  
 Bohairic (Coptic) version: O.T., 137; N.T., 234-5  
 Bomberg, Daniel, 87  
 Bonner, Campbell, 116  
 Books, forms of, 36 ff.  
 Bover, J. M.: edition of Greek N.T., 184  
 Breasted, J. H., 224  
 'Breeches Bible', 300 n.  
 Brooke, A. E., 129  
 Broughton, Hugh: attack on Authorized Version, 305, 316  
 Budge, Sir E. Wallis, 40, 137  
 Burdon, Dean J. W., 173, 182-3, 204, 316  
 Burkitt, F. C., 108, 226, 227-30, 239  
 Byblos (Gabal), 26  
 'Byzantine' text of N.T., 175, 246-7



94. Acts xxiv. 27. And Felix, willing to show the Jews a pleasure, left Paul bound.
95. Acts xxv. 24, 25. Crying that he ought not to live any longer. But when I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death, and that he himself hath appealed to Augustus, I have determined to send him.
96. Acts xxvii. 1. And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band.
97. Acts xxviii. 16. Paul was suffered to dwell by himself:  $\kappa$  A B, WH, RV<sup>1</sup>.
98. Acts xxviii. 19.
99. Acts xxviii. 29. Verse omitted by  $\kappa$  A B E, etc., WH, RV<sup>1</sup>.
100. Acts xxviii. 31.
- But Paul he left in custody by reason of Drusilla: two minuscules, Syr (Harkl. marg.).
- That I might give him over to torture without defence. But I could not give him up, by reason of the commands which we have from Augustus. But I bade them, if anyone desired to accuse him, to follow me to Caesarea, where he was under guard; who, coming thither, cried out that he might be removed from life. And when I had heard both parties, I perceived that he was in no way worthy of death; but when I said, Wilt thou be judged among them at Jerusalem? he appealed unto Caesar: Syr (Harkl. marg.).
- So therefore the governor ordained to send him to Caesar. And on the next day he called a certain centurion, named Julius, of Augustus' band, and delivered Paul to him, with other prisoners also. And we went on board the boat and began the voyage to Italy: one OL MS. (h), Syr (Harkl. marg.).
- The centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard; but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself without the camp: TR, OL, AV, RV<sup>2</sup> (except the last three words, which are in OL and one Greek MS.).
- Add: but that I may deliver my soul from death: OL and two Greek MSS.
- Verse included in TR, AV, RV<sup>2</sup>.
- Add: that this is Jesus the Son of God, by whom all the world will be judged: a few Latin MSS.

# GENERAL INDEX

## A

- Abbot, Ezra, 223  
 Abbott, T. K., 177  
 Adams, A. W., 140, 244  
 Adiabene, 134  
 Ælfric, Archbishop; Anglo-Saxon translation of O.T., 252 n., 270  
 African Latin version of Bible: O.T., 140; N.T., 239  
 Ahiram, sarcophagus of, 26  
 Aidan, St., 254, 265  
 Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV), 24  
 Akhmimic (Coptic) version: O.T., 137; N.T., 235  
 Akiba, Rabbi, 75, 76, 82, 102, 103, 112, 153  
 Aland, K., 163, 165, 182  
 Alcuin: revision of Vulgate, 257-9, 261, Plate xxxvi  
 Aldhelm: quotations of, 252 n.; Anglo-Saxon Psalter, 266  
 Aldred: Anglo-Saxon gloss in Lindisfarne Gospels, 255, 268  
 Aldus: first printed Septuagint, 128  
 'Alexandrian' text: Hort's classification, 171 ff.; applied to Hort's 'Neutral' text, 247  
 Alfred, King: translation of part of Bible, 267  
 Alphabet, 21, 25 ff.; Egyptian, 22; Phoenician, 26 ff.; Ras Shamra cuneiform, 29  
 Alt, O., 87  
 American versions since 1881, 321, 323, 325, 326, 328-9  
 American Revised Standard Version: *see* Revised Standard Version  
 Anglo-Celtic Vulgate MSS., 253-4  
 Anglo-Saxon translations, 266-71; interlinear glosses, 268; Gospels, 268-70  
 Aphraates: quotations of, 136  
 Apocrypha: books of, 68, 98, 100, 292; in Syriac version, 135; in Ethiopic version, 138; in Latin version, 140-1; in English Bibles, 291-3  
 Aquila: Greek version of O.T., 69, 71, 75, 96, 103, 104, 105-8, 112, 123, 125, 130, Plate xiii  
 Arabic version: O.T., 131, 138, 145; N.T., 238  
 Aramaic: language used by Jews, 94, 101; Targums, 69, 76, 86, 94-7, 134  
 Archetype: theory of Hebrew text, 70-2  
 Aristæus, Letter of, 98-9, 110-11, 112  
 Aristides, Apology of, 227  
 Aristion, 236-7  
 Armenian version: O.T., 138, 145; N.T. 236-7

- Asher, Aaron ben, 84-5; Moses ben, 84  
 Assyrian ('square') script, 73, 89  
 Athanasius, St., 59  
 Augustine, St., Archbishop of Canterbury, 265  
 Augustine of Hippo, St., 140, 239, 241, 251  
 Authorities: grouping of, 166-78, 246-9  
 Authorized Version of English Bible, 147, 162, 303-8, Plate xlviii

## B

- Baber, H. H., 202  
 Babylon, Jewish school of Massoretes, 76-7  
 Bancroft, Richard, Bishop of London, 303-4  
 Bar Kochba, 33, 82  
 Barnabas, Epistle of, 104, 194  
 Barnes, W. E., 136  
 Barthélemy, D., 112  
 Bede, Venerable: and Cod. Laudianus, 213; eminence in scholarship, 257; translation of St. John's Gospel, 266-7; quotations of, 252 n.  
 Bengel, J. A., 168, 180  
 Bensly, R. L.: and Sinaitic Syriac, 227; and lost part of 2 Esdras, 312  
 Bentley, Richard, 164, 179-80, 206, 239, 244, 263  
 Berger, Samuel, 263  
 Beuron: edition of Old Latin version by Fathers of, 140, 242  
 Beza, Theodore, 207, 211, 298-9, 309; edition of Greek N.T., 161; and Geneva Bible, 299-300  
 Billeo, A. V., 140  
 Biscop, Benedict, 255  
 Bishops' Bible, 300-2, 304, 306  
 Black, Matthew, 230  
 Blake, R. P., 237  
 Boghazköy, 23  
 Bohairic (Coptic) version: O.T., 137; N.T., 234-5  
 Bomberg, Daniel, 87  
 Bonner, Campbell, 116  
 Books, forms of, 36 ff.  
 Bover, J. M.: edition of Greek N.T., 184  
 Breasted, J. H., 224  
 'Breeches Bible', 300 n.  
 Brooke, A. E., 129  
 Broughton, Hugh: attack on Authorized Version, 305, 316  
 Budge, Sir E. Wallis, 40, 137  
 Burgon, Dean J. W., 173, 182-3, 204, 316  
 Burkitt, F. C., 108, 226, 227-30, 239  
 Byblos (Gabal), 26  
 'Byzantine' text of N.T., 175, 246-7

## C

- Cædmon: Bible paraphrase, 266  
 'Cæsarean' text of N.T., 177-8, 186-8, 215-7, 236, 237, 247-8  
 Cairo Geniza, 70, 72, 77, 83, 95, 103, 106, 150  
 Canaanite religious texts from Ras Shamra, 30  
 Canon: of O.T., 19, 98; Law, 66; Prophets, 67; Hagiographa, 67-8; of N.T., 156-7  
 Carnarvon, Lord, 24  
 Carter, Howard, 24  
 Cassiodorus, 246, 255  
 Caxton, William: the Golden Legend, 283  
 Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, 213, 244, 256, 257  
 Ceriani, A. M., 125, 131, 132  
 Chapman, Dom, 246  
 Chapter-divisions, 161, 261  
 Charlemagne: and revision of Vulgate by Alcuin, 257; Bible of, 258; Golden Gospels of, 259  
 Charles, R. H., 138  
 Chase, F. H., 208  
 Chayyim, ben, 87  
 Cheke, Sir John, 298  
 Chester Beatty, A.: collection of Biblical papyri, 115-18, 138, 187-9  
 Chrysostom: quotations from O.T., 131; from N.T., 170, 174  
 Clark, A. C., 209  
 Clarke, R. L., 47n.  
 Clay tablets as writing material, 20-1  
 Clement of Alexandria: quotations, 166  
 Clement of Rome: Epistles of 104; in Cod. Alexandrinus, 139, 201  
 Clement VIII, Pope: edition of Vulgate, 262-3  
 Cochläus, and printing of Tyndale's N.T., 285  
 Codex form of book, 41-3; for description of individual codices *see* Manuscripts  
 Columba, St., 253  
 Complutensian Polyglot, 86, 128, 160, Plate xviii  
 Conflate readings, 169  
 Constantine, Emperor, 157  
 Conybeare, F. C., 236  
 Coptic: language, 136; versions: O.T., 130, 136-7, 145; N.T., 165-6, 232-6, Plate xxx  
 Copyists, errors of, 50-3  
 Cornill, C. H., 131, 132  
 Corssen, P., 263  
 Coverdale, Miles: English Bible of, 290-2, 298, Plate xlv; editor of Great Bible, 294-7  
 Cowley, Sir Arthur, 93n., 151  
 Cranmer, Archbishop Thomas, 269-70, 288, 290, 294-5, 298, Plate xl  
 Creation myth, 22

- Creed, J. M., 329  
 Crete: Linear B script, 25, Plate iii  
 Criticism: function of, 61ff.; 'Higher' and 'Lower', 62  
 Cromwell, Thomas, Lord Protector: promotes English Bibles, 288-91, 294-5, 297-8  
 Crum, W. E., 235  
 Cumont, Franz, 224  
 Cuneiform: script, 20-5; Babylonian, 21-2, 24, Plate i; Hittite, 21, 23-4, Plate ii (i); Sumerian, 21; Ras Shamra alphabet, 29, Plate vi  
 Curetonian MS. of Old Syriac version, 226-; Cuthbert, St., 245, 254-6  
 Cyprian of Carthage, St.: quotations of, 140, 166, 239, 241  
 Cyril of Alexandria, 230

## D

- Damasus, Pope, 178, 242  
 Daniel: Greek versions of, 104, 118; additions to, 150  
 Dead, Book of the, 22  
 Dead Sea Scrolls, 58, 69, 72, 74, 79-80, 87, 91, 92, 100, 102n., 111-13, 147, 149-51, Plates v (ii), vii; discovery of Caves, 31ff.; date, 35; documents: Copper Scroll, 33; Daniel fragments, 32, 81; Genesis pseudepigraphical work, 32; Greek Minor Prophets, 34, 111, 112; Habakkuk Commentary, 32, 58, 81, 87; Isaiah A, 32, 35, 72, 74, 80, Plate vii; Isaiah B, 32, 35, 72, 80-1; Leviticus fragments, 81; Manual of Discipline, 32, 34; Samuel fragments, 81-2; Thanksgiving Psalms, 32; War Scroll, 32  
 Deissmann, A., 115  
 Delisle, 141  
 de Rossi, Giovanni, 71, 87  
 de Rossi, G. B., 244  
 de Vaux, R., 33  
 Diatessaron: *see* Tatian  
 Dillmann, A., 138  
 Dobschütz, E. von., 165, 182  
 Dodd, C. H., 330  
 Douai Old Testament, 302-3, Plate xlvii (ii)  
 Driver, G. R., 329-31  
 Dura: papyri and vellum MSS., 39n., 43; fragments of Diatessaron, 224-5  
 Dutch Bible, 283  
 Dutch version of Diatessaron, 222

## E

- 'Eastern' group of N.T. authorities, 248-9  
 'Ecclesiastical' text of N.T.: *see* 'Byzantine' text  
 Ecclesiasticus: Hebrew text, 150-2; Old Latin version, 141n.  
 Ecclesiastes: relation of Greek version to Aquila, 103

Edessa, 134  
 Egyptian hieroglyphic script, 22  
 Egyptian versions: *see* Coptic  
 Eissfeldt, O., 87  
 Elzevir: edition of Greek N.T., 161  
 English printed Bible, 284 ff., Appendix II  
 English text of Vulgate in Middle Ages, 255  
 Enoch, book of, 138; papyrus MS. of, 116  
 Ephraem, St.: and Cod. Ephraemi Rescriptus, 206: quotations of, 135, 229; commentary on the Diatessaron, 223  
 Epiphanius, 222  
 Erasmus, Desiderius: *editio princeps* of Greek N.T., 160-1, 218, 309, Plate XIX; and Great Bible, 295  
 Esdras, books of, 101 n.  
 Estienne, Robert: *see* Stephanus  
 Ethiopic version: O.T., 131, 137-8, 145; N.T., 237, Plate XXXI  
 European text of Old Latin: O.T., 140; N.T., 239, 243  
 Eusebian sections, 194, 201-2, 207  
 Eusebius of Caesarea: edition of Septuagint, 108-9, 130, 132, 158; quotations of, 166; in Cod. Alexandrinus, 121, 199; on Diatessaron, 222  
 Euthalius of Alexandria, 201, 214  
 Evans, Sir Arthur, 25

## F

'Family 1' of N.T. MSS., 177, 218, 247  
 'Family 13' of N.T. MSS., 177, 218, 247  
 Fathers, quotations from, 59-60, 166-7  
 Fayumic (Coptic) version of N.T., 235  
 Fenton, Ferrar, *The Holy Bible in Modern English*, 322  
 Ferrar, W. H., 177, 218  
 'Ferrar group' of N.T. MSS., 177, 218  
 Field, F.: editor of Hexapla, 108, 128-9, 131  
 Freer, C. L.: collection of MSS., 114, 126, 214, 215  
 French Bible, 283  
 Ford, R. F., and T. F.: *Letchworth Version* of N.T., 327  
 Fulke, W.: controverts Rheims N.T., 303

## G

Gasquet, Cardinal F. A.: and new edition of Vulgate, 263; on Wycliffite Bible, 278-81  
 Gaunt, John of: supports Wycliffe, 274, 281  
 Gebal (Byblos), 26, 39  
 Geneva Bible, 297-300, 305, 306; editions of, 300, Plate XLVI  
 Geniza, 70; Cairo Geniza, 70, 72, 77, 83, 95, 103, 106, 150  
 Georgian version: O.T., 138, 145; N.T., 237  
 German Bible, 283  
 Gesenius, 91  
 Gezer inscriptions, 26; Calendar, 27, Plate IV (i)  
 Gibson, Mrs., 227

Gilgamesh, Epic of, 22  
 Ginsburg, C. D., 87  
 Golden Gospels of Charlemagne, 259  
 Goodspeed, E. J.: translation of N.T., 325  
 Gordon, A. R.: joint translator of O.T., 325  
 Gothic version: O.T., 131, 138, 145; N.T., 237  
 Grabe, J. E., 128, 202  
 Great Bible, 294-7, Plate XLV; Psalter retained in Book of Common Prayer, 297  
 Greek versions of O.T., 57, 97-134, 146-54; *see also* Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Quinta  
 Gregory the Great, Pope, 252  
 Gregory, C. R., 163 n., 165, 182  
 Grenfell, B. P., 186  
 Griesbach, J. J., 168, 180  
 Gutenberg Bible, 262, Plate XXXVII  
 Gwilliam, G. H., 230  
 Gwynn, J., 230, 232

## H

Hagiographa, 65, 67-8  
 Hammurabi, Code of, 22  
 Hampden-Cook, E.: reviser of Weymouth's N.T., 323  
 Harding, G. Lancaster, 33  
 Harkel, Thomas of: Syriac version of N.T., 231-2, Plate XXIX  
 Harnack, A. von, 155 n.  
 Harris, J. Rendel, 115, 198, 208, 209, 227  
 Hartmut, Abbot of St. Gall, 260  
 Harwood, Edward: version of N.T., 320-1  
 Hebrew language, 73-4, 101  
 Hebrew MSS., 84-6 (for list *see* Manuscripts, *Hebrew*); classification, 83-4; rules for copyists, 78-9  
 Hebrew O.T., 61-88; arrangement of books, 65-6; dates of composition of books, 64-5; history of text, 69 ff.; printed editions, 86-8  
 Hebrew script: Phoenician, 26-8, 30, 32, 33, 36, 73, 81, 89, 108 n.; square, 28, 118, 148  
 Hedley, P. L., 163  
 Herculaneum papyri, 40 n.  
 Heinrici, C. F., 118  
 Hereford, Nicholas, and Wycliffite Bible, 275-6, 279  
 Hermas, 'Shepherd' of, in Cod. Sinaiticus, 194  
 Hesychius: edition of Septuagint, 109, 125, 130; edition of N.T., 176  
 Hexapla, Origen's, 105-8; MSS., 106-7, 123, 125, 130; Field's edition, 108, 128-9, 131  
 Hieroglyphs: Egyptian, 22, 25, 27; Hittite, 23-4, Plate II (ii)  
 Hillel, Rabbi, 75, 86, 96  
 History, ancient methods of, 64  
 Hittite: cuneiform, 21, 23, Plate II (i); hieroglyphs, 23-4, Plate II (ii)

Holmes, R., and Parsons, J.: edition of Septuagint, 113, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128-9  
 Hooke, S. H.: editor of Bible in Basic English, 327-8  
 Horner, G.: editor of Coptic versions of N.T., 233, 234  
 Hort, F. J. A., *see* Westcott and Hort  
 Hug, L., 202  
 Hun, Richard: Bible of, 280-1  
 Hunkin, Bishop J. W., 330  
 Hunt, A. S., 186

## I

Irenæus: quotations of, 59, 166, 170, 239  
 Irish Vulgate text, 246, 253, 257-8, 260  
 Italian Bible, 283  
 Italian Old Latin text, 239

## J

James I, and Authorized Version, 303  
 Jamdat Nasr, excavations at, 21  
 Jamnia, Synod of, 68-9  
 Jeremiah, Septuagint text of, 133, 148-9  
 Jerome, St., 44, 45 n., 59, 100, 101 n., 103, 104, 105, 109, 139, 140, 141-4, 146, 150, 166, 239, 242-6, 251  
 Job, Septuagint text of, 104, 133, 137  
 Johnson, A. C., 118  
 Johnson, John, 119  
 Jonathan, Targum of, 96  
 Josephus, 34, 109  
 Joye, G.: unauthorized revision of Tyndale's N.T., 288  
 Jubilees, book of, 81, 149; Ethiopic version of, 138  
 Jülicher, A., 242  
 Justin Martyr, 75 n., 112, 166, 221

## K

Kagemna, Teaching of, 22  
 Kahle, Paul, 72, 77-8, 84, 85-6, 87, 88, 95, 110-12, 130, 134  
 Kappler, W., 113, 127 n., 129  
 Karkaphensian Syriac version of N.T., 232 n.  
 Karaites, 84  
 Keating, J.: joint editor *Westminster Version*, 325-6  
 Kells, Book of, 254  
 Kennicott, Benjamin, 70-1, 87  
 Kethib, 78  
 Khirbet Qumran, excavations at, 31-2  
 Kilpatrick, G. D., 184, 330  
 Kingdoms, books of, 65; Septuagint text of, 133, 148  
 Kipling, T., 208  
 Kish, excavations at, 21  
 Kittel, R.: editor of Hebrew O.T., 85, 87  
 Kleist, Fr., 326  
 Knox, Mgr. Ronald, 326-7

## L

Lachish, excavations at, 26  
 Lachish Letters, 28, Plate v (i)  
 Lachmann, C.: edition of Greek N.T., 173, 181  
 Lagarde, P. de, 111, 129, 130, 131, 232  
 Lagrange, M. J., 186  
 Lake, Kirsopp, 177, 194, 218  
 'Lake Group' of Cursive MSS., 177  
 Lake, Mrs. Silva, 217  
 Langdon, S., 21  
 Langton, Archbishop Stephen, and chapter division of N.T., 161, 261  
 Latin versions: O.T., 139-44; N.T., 57-8, 166, 238-46; *see also* under Old Latin and Vulgate  
 Lattey, C.: joint editor of *Westminster Version*, 325-6  
 Laud, Archbishop Thomas, 213  
 Leather as writing material, 37-8  
 Legg, S. C. E.: edition of Greek N.T., 183  
 Leo XIII, Pope, and new edition of Vulgate, 224  
 Lewis, Mrs., 150, 227, 232  
 Lightfoot, J. B., 223  
 Lilley, Fr., 326  
 Lindisfarne Gospels, 254-6, 268, Plate xxxv  
 Lucar, Cyril, Patriarch of Constantinople, 198  
 Lucian: edition of Septuagint, 109, 130-2, edition of N.T., 176  
 Lucifer of Cagliari, 212  
 Luther, Martin, 101 n., 285, 292; and German Bible, 283

## M

McHardy, W. D., 231  
 McLean, N., 129  
 McNeile, A. H., 103  
 Mai, Cardinal, 202  
 Maldon, W., 296  
 Manuscripts, 50, 56-7; Uncial, 44-5, 111, 119-27, 132, 159, 163-4, 191-217, Plates xvi, xvii, xxiii-xxvii; Minuscule, 45, 113, 127, 159, 164-5, 217-18, Plate xxviii; grouping of, 167 ff. For individual MSS. *see* the following, *Hebrew*—Aleppo Codex, 84-5; British Museum Pentateuch, 83, Plate ix; Cairo Prophets, 84; Cod. Hillelis, 86; Leningrad O.T., 85; Leningrad Prophets, 85; Reuchlin Codex, 85. *Greek* (including bilingual): Bodleian Genesis (E), 122-3; Bodleian Psalter (I), 123; Chigi MS. of Daniel, 104; Codex Alexandrinus (A), 120-1, 131, 132, 139, 152, 159, 164, 169 ff., 198-202, 247, Plate xxiv; Ambrosianus (F), 123; Basilio-Vaticanus (N-V), 124, 131; Basilienensis (E), 212, 247; Beza (Φ), 217, 247; Beza (D), 159, 164, 169 ff., 176, 179, 181, 207-12, 225, 231, 248, Plate

Manuscripts (*contd.*)

- xxvi; Borgiaus (T), 215, 247; Claron-  
montanus (D<sub>1</sub>), 164, 179, 181, 212;  
Coislinianus of O.T. (M), 124, 130;  
Coislinianus of Pauline Epp. (H<sub>1</sub>), 213-14;  
Cottonianus (D), 122; Cryptoferratensis  
(F), 126; Cyprianus (K), 214; Dublinensis  
Rescriptus (O), 124, 131; Dublinensis  
(Z), 181, 216, 247; Ephraemi Rescriptus  
(C), 121-2, 159, 164, 169 ff., 176, 247,  
Plate xxv (ii); Friderico-Augustanus (N  
or S), *see* Sinaiticus; Koridethianus (Θ),  
176, 177, 247; Laudianus (F<sub>4</sub>), 164, 213,  
Plate xxxiii; Laurensis (Ψ), 176, 217,  
247; Lipsiensis (K), 124; Marchalianus  
(Q), 108, 124-5, 130, 131, Plate xvii;  
Niriensis (R), 215, 247; Petropolitanus  
of Numbers (H), 123; Petropolitanus of  
Gospels (Π), 217; Porphyrianus (P<sub>1</sub>), 215;  
Purpureus Petropolitanus (N), 214-15;  
Regius (L), 167 ff., 181, 214, 247; Rossan-  
ensis (Σ), 217, 247; Sangallensis (Δ), 216,  
247; Sarravianus (G), 107-8, 123, 130,  
Plate xvi; Sinaiticus (N or S), 44, 119-20,  
132, 152, 158, 164, 167 ff., 176, 181, 191-8,  
247, Plate xxiii; Sinopensis (O), 215;  
Taurinensis (Y), 126; Tischendorfianus  
III (A), 216-17; Codex Vaticanus (B), 44,  
121, 132, 152, 158, 164, 169 ff., 176, 181,  
202-7, 247, Plate xxv (i); Venetus (= V  
of N-V), 124, 131, 247; Washingtonianus  
I of O.T. (Θ), 126; Washingtonianus  
I of N.T. (W), 164, 215-16, 247, Plate  
xxvii; Washingtonianus II of O.T. (1219),  
126; Washingtonianus II of N.T. (I), 214;  
Cotton Genesis (D), 122; Emmanuel  
Coll. Cambridge Psalms (P), 124; Paris  
Psalter (W), 126; Verona Psalter (R),  
125; Vienna Genesis (L), 124; Vatican  
Job (X), 126; Zürich Psalter (T),  
125. *Latin*—Armagh, Book of, 246;  
Charlemagne, Bible of, 258; Charle-  
magne, Golden Gospels of, 259; Codex  
Amiatinus, 181, 244-5, 246, 255, 257,  
Plate xxxiv; Augiensis (f), 241; Bezae (d),  
241; Bobiensis of Gospels (k), 241, 248;  
Bobiensis fragments of Acts (s), 241;  
Boernerianus (g), 241, 248; Brixianus (f),  
241; Cavensis, 245, 246, 253; Claron-  
montanus (d<sub>1</sub>, d<sub>2</sub>), 241; Colbertinus (c),  
240-1; Corbeiensis (ff), 241; Duncel-  
mensis, 246; Floriacensis (h), 241;  
Freisingensis (r), 241; Fuldensis, 222, 245;  
Gigas (g), 241; Guelferbytanus (guc), 241;  
Laudianus (e), 213, 241, 248; Lichfel-  
densis, 246; Frontispiece; Otobonianus,  
264; Oxoniensis, 246; Palatinus (e), 241,  
248; Sangermanensis (e), 241; Theodul-  
fianus, 260; Toletanus, 245, 246, 253; Valli-  
cellanus, 258; Vercellensis (a), 240, Plate  
xxxii; Veronensis (b), 240, 242; Vindob-  
onensis, 141; Harleian Gospels, 245, 246;  
Kells, Book of, 254; Liber Comicus (t),  
241; Lindisfarne Gospels, 254-6, 268,  
Plate xxxv; Lyons Octateuch, 141;  
Rushworth Gospels, 268, Plate xxxix;  
Speculum (m), 241; Stonyhurst Gospels  
245, 246; Tours Pentateuch, 264  
Marcionite Prologues, 251-2  
Margolis, Max: Jewish version of O.T., 325  
Mark, St.: conclusion of Gospel, 197, 204,  
236; longer ending, 52-3, 214, 217, 236-7;  
addition to longer ending, 215; shorter  
ending, 214, 217  
Martin, Gregory: translator of Douai Bible,  
302  
Massorah, 76-7, 79, 84, 85, 87  
Massorettes, 75, 76-8, 84, 88, 90  
Massoretic text of Hebrew O.T., 31-2, 82,  
84, 88, 132-4; vocalization, 77-8, 79  
Matthaei, C. F., 180  
Matthew's Bible, 293-4  
Mazarin Bible, 262, Plate xxxvii  
Meek, J., 325  
Melito of Sardis, Homily of, 116  
Memphitic (Coptic) version: O.T., 137;  
N.T., 234  
Mercati, Cardinal, 106  
Merton, W., 117  
Mesopotamia, excavations in, 20  
Merk, A.: edition of Greek N.T., 184  
Michigan Papyri, 117, 186-7  
Middle Egyptian (Coptic) version: O.T.,  
137; N.T., 235  
Mill, John: edition of Greek N.T., 179  
Milne, H. J. M., 194, 195, 199 n.  
Minuscule MSS., 45, and *see* under Manu-  
scripts  
Moabite Stone, 27  
Moesinger, G., 223  
Moffatt, James: translator of Bible, 324  
More, Sir Thomas: and Wycliffite Bible,  
273-4, 281; attack on Tyndale's N.T., 285  
Moulton, R. G., 323  
Multiple texts, theory of, 72  
Murabba'at Caves, 33, 74, 82

## N

- Nablus, Samaritan MS. at, 93, Plate xii  
Naples, and text of Lindisfarne Gospels, 255  
Nash Papyrus, 36  
Nathan, Rabbi, and verse-division of O.T.,  
299  
Nestle, E.: edition of Greek N.T., 128, 183;  
edition of Vulgate, 244  
Neubauer, Dr., 150-1  
Nestorian Church, Biblical text of, 135  
'Neutral' text of N.T., 172 ff., 243, 247  
New Testament: dates of books, 155; extant  
MSS., 158-9, 163-5, 185-219; Formation  
of Canon, 156-8; original MSS., 155-6;  
printed editions, 160-2, 179-84  
Nippur, excavations at, 20

## O

- Old Latin version: O.T., 131, 139-41, 145, 251; N.T., 166, 169ff., 236, 239-42, 251-2  
 Old Syriac version of Gospels, 226-9, 248  
 Old Testament: Canon, 65ff.; composition of books, 63-4; dates and order of books, 64-6; Hebrew text, 69ff., 145-54; MSS., 78-86; printed editions, 86-8  
 Onkelos, Targum of, 96  
 Origen, 59, 103, 104, 166; his Hexapla, 105-8, 121, 123, 125, 132, 139, 143, 146  
 Ormulum: metrical version of parts of Bible, 271  
 Oxford University: support of Wycliffe, 275

## P

- Packington, and Tyndale's N.T., 286n.  
 Palestinian Syriac version of N.T., 232  
 Palimpsest MSS., 206, 216, Plate xiii  
 Pamphilus, 106; his edition of Septuagint, 108-9  
 Papyrus, 22, 38ff., 113; roll, 22, 38, Plate viii; codex, 41ff.; MSS. of Septuagint, 113-19, Plates xiv, xv; of N.T., 185-90, Plates xx-xxii  
 Parisian Bibles of thirteenth century, 261-2, 273  
 Parker, Archbishop Matthew: and Bishop's Bible, 300-1; and Geneva Bible, 300  
 Patristic quotations, 60, 166-7  
 Paul of Tella: Syriac version of Hexapla, 107, 130, 134-5  
 Pepys, Samuel, 222  
 Peshitta Syriac version: O.T., 134-5, 146; MSS., 135-6; N.T., 229-31; MSS., 230  
 Peter, Gospel and Apocalypse of, 138, 235  
 Petrie, Sir Flinders, 26, 40, 233  
 Phillips, J. B., 327  
 Philoxenos of Mabug: Syriac version of O.T., 135; of N.T., 231-2  
 Phoenician alphabet and script, 26-8, 30, 32, 33, 36, 73, 81, 89, 108n., Plates iv, v  
 Pius XI, Pope, and new edition of Vulgate, 263  
 Pliny the Elder, 34, 43  
 Pococke, Edward, 232  
 Pollard, A. W., 308n.  
 Polychrome Bible, 322-3  
 Polyglots, 86, 136, Plates x, xi, xviii  
 Powis-Smith, J. M., 325  
 Prices of English Bibles, 296, 305n.  
 Primasius: quotations of, 241  
 Printing: invention of, 20; effect on Bible text, 282  
 Priscillian: quotations of, 241  
 Priscillianist Gospel Prologues, 251-2  
 Prophetic books, 65, 66  
 Proverbs, book of, 22  
 Psalms, numeration in Greek and Hebrew O.T., 114n.

- Psalter: Jerome's three Latin versions, 142; English translations, 266, 268, 272; Prayer Book version from Great Bible, 272  
 Ptah-Hetep, Teaching of, 22  
 Purver, Anthony: *Literal Translation*, 321  
 Purvey, John, and Wycliffite Bible, 276, 277

## Q

- Quentin, H.; edition of Vulgate, 263-4  
 Q're, 78  
 Quinta version of O.T., 105, 106, 111, 112, 123  
 Qumran sect, 34; *see also* under Dead Sea Scrolls and Khirbet Qumran

## R

- Rabbinical schools, 75  
 Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, and Peshitta version, 230, 249  
 Rahlfs, A., 113, 127n., 129-30, 137  
 Ras Shamra (Ugarit) tablets, 29ff.; alphabetic script, 30-1, Plate vi  
 'Received text' of N.T., 161  
 Redpath, H. A., 123  
 Revised Standard Version (American), 321, 328  
 Revised Version of English Bible, 147, 162, 309-18  
 Revisions and translations since 1881, 320, 321  
 Rheims New Testament, 302-3, Plate xliii (1)  
 Rieu, E. V., 327  
 Roberts, C. H., 42, 115, 118, 119, 189-90  
 Robertson, J. A., 323  
 Robinson, T. H., 330  
 Roe, Sir Thomas, 198  
 Rogers, John: editor of Matthew's Bible, 293, 298  
 Rolle of Hampole, Richard: version of Psalter, 271-2  
 Roll-form of books, 37, 38  
 Rostovzeff, M., 224  
 Rushworth MS.: Anglo-Saxon glosses in, 268

## S

- Sabatier, P., 139, 242  
 Sahidic (Coptic) version: O.T., 137-41; N.T., 233-4  
 St. Gall, school of, 260  
 Samaritans, 89-90  
 Samaritan Pentateuch, 36, 69, 73, 82, 89-91, 97, 146, 149; script, 73, 89; manuscripts, 93-4  
 Sanday, W., 183  
 Sanders, H. A., 114, 115, 186-8  
 Schaeffer, Claude, 29  
 Schechter, S., 151  
 Scheide, J. H.: papyrus codex of Ezekiel, 117-18, 119  
 Schoeffer, P.; printer of, Tyndale's NT., 285

Scribes, 74-5, 90  
 Scribal errors, 50-3  
 Scrivener, F. H. A., 173, 182, 204, 208, 209, 312  
 Semler, J. S., 168  
 Septima version of O.T., 105, 123  
 Septuagint, 57-8, 69, 73, 82, 97-134, 144-54; origin, 98-100; contents, 100-1; MSS., 113-27; printed editions, 128-9  
 Serabit, inscriptions, 26  
 Sexta version of O.T., 105, 111  
 Shechem, 26  
 Shoreham, William of, 272-3  
 Shuruppak, excavations at, 21  
 Siloam Inscription, 27, Plate IV (ii)  
 Simonides, C., 193  
 Sinaitic MS. of Old Syriac, 227  
 Sixtus V., Pope: edition of Septuagint, 128; revision of Vulgate, 245, 262-3  
 Skeat, T. C., 194, 195, 199n.  
 Skins as writing material, 37, 43  
 Slavonic version: O.T., 138, 145; N.T., 238  
 Smith, Miles, and Preface to Authorized Version, 304-5  
 Soden, H. von: edition of Greek N.T., 182; classification of N.T. authorities, 176-7, 225  
 'Soldier's Pocket Bible', 300n.  
 Solomon, Psalms of, 199  
 Souter, A.: edition of Greek N.T., 183  
 Spanish Vulgate text, 246, 253, 257-8  
 Sparks, H. F. D., 140, 244  
 Speculum (*m*), 241  
 Spurrell, Helen: translator of O.T., 322  
 'Square' Hebrew characters, 28, 118, 148  
 Starkey, J. L., 28, 233  
 Stephanus: edition of Greek N.T., 161, 208, 262, 309; verse-division of N.T., 161, 299  
 Stonyhurst Gospels, 245  
 Streeter, B. H., 177  
 Sukenik, E. L., 32  
 Sumerian writing, 21; Flood narrative, 20  
 Swete, H. B., 123; edition of Septuagint, 114, 124, 128-9  
 Symmachus: Greek version of O.T., 69, 71, 104-8, 112, 123, 125, 130  
 Syriac: language, 134; versions: O.T., 69, 134-6; N.T., 57-8, 165, 169ff., 221-32  
 'Syrian' group of N.T. authorities, 170ff., 246-7

## T

Talmud, 71  
 Targums, Aramaic, 69, 76, 86, 94-7, 134  
 Tatian: Diatessaron, 166, 177, 221-6, 236, 248-9  
 Taverner, R.: English Bible of, 297  
 Taylor, C., 108  
 Taylor, Bishop Jeremy, 59  
 Tell el-Amarna Letters, 24, Plate I  
 Tertullian: quotations of, 140, 166

Tetrapla: Origen's edition of Old Testament, 106  
 Text-division, Massoretic, 75-6; *see also* under Chapter-division and Verse-division  
 Textual criticism, methods of, 53-60, 162-78, 220-1, 246-9  
 Thackeray, H. St. John, 129  
 Thebaic (Coptic) version, *see* Sahidic  
 Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, 213, 255  
 Theodoret: quotations of, 131  
 Theodotion: Greek version of O.T., 69, 71, 96, 99, 104, 105-8, 111, 121, 123, 125, 126, 130  
 Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans: revision of Vulgate, 259-60  
 Thompson, E. Maunde, 202  
 Thompson, Sir Herbert, 137, 235  
 Tischendorf, G. F. C., 114, 120, 122, 128, 181, 190-2, 202, 206, 309  
 Tomson, L.: revision of Geneva N.T., 300  
 Translation, 323-4, 329-30  
 Tregelles, S. P., 181, 202, 309  
 Tunstall, Bishop: and Tyndale's N.T., 284; and Great Bible, 295  
 Turner, C. H., 246  
*Twentieth Century N.T.*, 323  
 Tyndale, William, 273, 284, 293-4, 298; translation of N.T., 285ff., Plate XLIII; revised editions, 288-9; translation of Pentateuch, 287-8; of Jonah, 288; of historical books of O.T., 293

## U

Ugarit, *see* Ras Shamra  
 Ulfilas: translator of Gothic Bible, 138, 237  
 Uncial MSS., 44-5; *see also* under Manuscripts  
 Ur, excavations at, 20, 21  
 Uruk, excavations at, 21  
 Ussher, Archbishop, and Scripture chronology, 308n.

## V

Valle, Pietro della, 91  
 Variorum Bible, 47, and *passim*  
 Various readings: causes of, 50-3; examples of, 48-9; origin of, 49-50; and Christian doctrine, 49-55  
 Vellum as writing material, 43ff.  
 Ventris, Michael, and Cretan script, 25  
 Vernacular printed Bibles, 283-4  
 Verse-division: of O.T. by R. Nathan, 299; of N.T. by Stephanus, 299  
 Versions: and textual criticism, 57-9; of O.T., 89-154; of N.T., 220-49  
 Victor, Bishop of Capua, 222  
 'Vinegar Bible', 308n.  
 Vitelli, G., 118  
 Vowel-points, Hebrew, 74



Vulgate: version of O.T., 141-4, 146; of N.T., 166, 242-6; in Middle Ages, 250-64; early printed editions, 283

# W

Walton, Brian, Bishop of Chester, 86-7, 179, 201, 309  
 Wand, Bishop J. W. C., 327  
 Warham, Archbishop, and English Bible, 288  
 Waterman, L., 325  
 Weiss, Bernhard, 183  
 Wessex, Anglo-Saxon Gospels, 268  
 Westcott, B. F., and Hort, F. J. A.: edition of Greek N.T., etc., 168 ff., 195 ff., 310, 312, 329  
 'Western' text of N.T., 171 ff., 242, 248  
*Westminster Version*, 325-6  
 Wetstein, J. J.: catalogue of N.T. MSS., 164, 180  
 Weymouth, R. F.: translation of N.T., 323-4  
 Whitchurch, E.: printer of Great Bible, 296 n.  
 White, H. J.: joint editor of Oxford Vulgate, 239, 244, 246, 263  
 White, J.: editor of Harkleian Syriac, 231

Whittingham, W.: N.T. of, 299; part author of Geneva Bible, 299  
 'Wicked Bible', 308 n.  
 Williams, A. T. P., Bishop of Winchester, 330  
 Williams, C. K.: translation of N.T., 32  
 Winckler, Hugo, 23  
 Woide, C. G., 202, 233  
 Woolley, Sir Leonard, 20  
 Wordsworth, J.: joint editor of Oxford Vulgate, 239, 244, 246, 263  
 Worrall, W. N., 137  
 Writing, origins of, in Near East, 20-31  
 Wycliffe, John, 273 ff.; Wycliffite Bible, 275-81, Plates xli, xlii

# X

Ximenes, Cardinal, 86, 128, 160

# Y

Young, Patrick, 201

# Z

Ziegler, J., 129

# INDEX OF BIBLICAL PASSAGES

(see also Appendix I of Notable Various Readings)

| <i>Genesis</i>               |        | <i>1 Kings (3 Kingdoms)</i> |           | <i>Isaiah</i>         |              |
|------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|--------------|
| iv. 8                        | 92     | vi, vii                     | 148       | iii. 24               | 80           |
| xviii. 22                    | 76     | xii. 28 ff.                 | 30        | vi. 3                 | 80           |
| xxi. 13                      | 92     |                             |           | vii. 14               | 75, 102, 103 |
| xxix. 3, 8                   | 92     | <i>2 Kings (4 Kingdoms)</i> |           | ix. 3                 | 314          |
| xlvi. 21                     | 92     | iii. 4-27                   | 27        | xiv. 4, 30            | 80n.         |
|                              |        | vii. 6                      | 23        | xxi. 8                | 80           |
| <i>Exodus</i>                |        | xvii. 24                    | 89        | xxvii. 7              | 74           |
| xii. 40                      | 92     | xviii. 17 ff.               | 94        | xxxiii. 8             | 80           |
| xiv. 20                      | 148    | xx. 20                      | 27        | xliv. 16, 19          | 80           |
| xx. 17                       | 91     | xxii. 8                     | 64, 66    | xliv. 9, 24           | 80           |
| xxxii. 4                     | 30     | xxiii. 1-24                 | 64        | l. 6                  | 80           |
|                              |        | xxiv. 15-16                 | 89        | li. 11, 19            | 80           |
|                              |        |                             |           | liii. 12              | 80           |
|                              |        |                             |           | lx. 19                | 80n.         |
| <i>Numbers</i>               |        | <i>1 Chronicles</i>         |           | <i>Jeremiah</i>       |              |
| iv. 14                       | 92     | xxix. 29                    | 67        | x. 6-8, 10, etc.      | 133          |
| xiii. 29-30                  | 23     |                             |           | xxv. 13               | 133          |
| xxi. 14                      | 63     | <i>2 Chronicles</i>         |           | xxxvi. 18, 23         | 38           |
| <i>Deuteronomy</i>           |        | ix. 29                      | 67        | <i>Ezekiel</i>        |              |
| v. 21                        | 91     | xxvi. 22                    | 67        | ii. 9                 | 38           |
| xi. 29-30                    | 91     |                             |           | <i>Daniel</i>         |              |
| xxvii. 2-7                   | 91     | <i>Ezra</i>                 |           | ii. 4                 | 81           |
| xxvii. 4                     | 90, 91 | iv. 2                       | 90        | <i>Amos</i>           |              |
| xxviii. 22                   | 74     | vi. 1, 2                    | 37        | vi. 12                | 74           |
| xxxii. 35                    | 92     | <i>Nehemiah</i>             |           | <i>Micah</i>          |              |
| <i>Joshua</i>                |        | viii                        | 64        | v. 2                  | 153          |
| xv. 59                       | 153    | <i>Job</i>                  |           | <i>Habakkuk</i>       |              |
| <i>Judges</i>                |        | iii. 14                     | 148       | i. 17                 | 81           |
| vi. 32                       | 76     | xxv. 15                     | 148       | ii. 5, 16             | 81           |
| xv. 16                       | 74     | xli. 1                      | 30        | <i>Ecclesiasticus</i> |              |
|                              |        | xlii. 17                    | 96        | xl. 18-20             | 151-2        |
| <i>1 Samuel (1 Kingdoms)</i> |        | <i>Esther</i>               |           | xlvi. 8-10            | 67           |
| xiii. 21                     | 148    | vi. 1                       | 37        | xliv. 10              | 67           |
| xvii. 12-31, 41, 50, 55-8    | 133    | <i>Psalms</i>               |           | <i>1 Maccabees</i>    |              |
| xviii. 1-5, 9-11, 17-19      | 133    | xl. 7                       | 38        | i. 56-7               | 68n.         |
| xxvii. 10                    | 148    | lvii. 10 (=AV lviii. 9)     | 302       | <i>2 Maccabees</i>    |              |
| <i>2 Samuel (2 Kingdoms)</i> |        | lxxiv. 14                   | 30        | ii. 13-4              | 68n.         |
| xi. 21                       | 76     | xcvi. 10                    | 75n., 102 |                       |              |
|                              |        | ccxxii. 6                   | 153       |                       |              |

## NEW TESTAMENT

| <i>Matthew</i> |  | <i>Luke (contd.)</i>         |              | <i>Acts</i>          |          |
|----------------|--|------------------------------|--------------|----------------------|----------|
| i. 16          | 227-8                                    | ix. 62                       | 239          | viii. 37             | 213, 231 |
| vi. 13         | 48                                       | x. 42                        | 211          | xv. 20               | 211      |
| xi. 19         | 51                                       | xi. 2-4                      | 48, 218, 228 | xix. 1, 9            | 211      |
| xvi. 2-3       | 48                                       | xxi. 38                      | 53, 218      | xxi. 40              | 51       |
| xvi. 13        | 51                                       | xxii. 18-20                  | 48, 211, 228 | xxii. 29             | 211      |
| xix. 17        | 47                                       | xxii. 20-52                  | 195-7        | xxvi. 28             | 314 n.   |
| xx. 16-34      | 207                                      | xxii. 43-4                   | 48, 52, 228  | xxvii. 6, 38         | 42       |
| xx. 28         | 48, 210, 217                             | xxiii. 10-12                 | 229          | xxviii. 11           | 42       |
| xxi. 44        | 210                                      | xxiii. 34                    | 48, 228      |                      |          |
| xxiii. 14      | 51, 228                                  | xxiv. 6                      | 211          |                      |          |
| xxvii. 16-17   | 52, 229                                  | xxiv. 12                     | 48, 211      | <i>Romans</i>        |          |
| xxvii. 46      | 96                                       | xxiv. 36, 40                 | 211          | xvi. 25-7            | 180      |
|                |  | xxiv. 51-2                   | 211          |                      |          |
| <i>Mark</i>    |  | <i>John</i>                  |              | <i>1 Corinthians</i> |          |
| vii. 19        | 167                                      | i. 18                        | 190          | xiii                 | 315      |
| viii. 27       | 51                                       | iv. 9                        | 211          |                      |          |
| xv. 28         | 51                                       | iv. 42-v. 14                 | 200-1        | <i>Galatians</i>     |          |
| xvi. 8, 9-20   | 48, 52-3, 197, 204, 214, 215, 235, 236-7 | v. 4                         | 48, 190      | iii. 17              | 92       |
| xvi. 14        | 215                                      | vii. 36                      | 53           |                      |          |
|                |  | vii. 53-viii. 1              |              | <i>2 Timothy</i>     |          |
|                |  | 48-9, 53, 190, 199, 218, 235 |              | iv. 13               | 41, 156  |
| <i>Luke</i>    |  | xi. 39                       | 228          |                      |          |
| vi. 4          | 48                                       | xiii. 5                      | 190          | <i>1 John</i>        |          |
| vi. 5, 9       | 210                                      | xvi. 26                      | 240          | v. 7                 | 161, 258 |
| vi. 48         | 51, 229                                  | xvi. 27-xvii. 21             | 204-6        |                      |          |
| vii. 35        | 51                                       | xvii. 14                     | 315          |                      |          |
| xi. 18         | 51                                       |                              |              |                      |          |

## SPECIMENS OF T

This Table contains Heb. i. 1-9 as translated in all the principal Versions already been given on p. 227. A comparison of these Versions is found to be in Tyndale. The Wycliffite version of the New Testament, we find already the cadences and the phraseology of the other translations down to 1881 are plainly nothing but copy; the rest are from originals in the British Museum. T

| Tyndale, 1525   | Coverdale, 1535  | Matthew, 1537   | Great Bible (Cromwell's), 1539   | The Geneva Bible, 1560   | The Bible, 1881  |
|---|--|---|--|--|--|
| <p>God in tyme past diuersly and many wayes, spake vnto the fathers by prophets: but in these last dayes he hath spoken vnto vs by his sonne, whom he hath made heyre of all thyngs: by whom also he made the worlde. Which sonne beyng the brightnes of his glory, and the very ymage off his substance, bearyng vpe all thyngs with the worde of his power, hath in his awne person poured oure synnes, and is sytten on the right honde of the maiestie an hie, and is more excellent then the angels in as moche as he hath by inheritaunce obteyned an excellent name then have they.</p>  | <p>God in tyme past dyuersly and many wayes, spake vnto y<sup>e</sup> fathers by prophetes, but in these last dayes he hath spoken vnto vs by his sonne, whom he hath made heyre of all thyngs, by whom also he made the worlde. Which (sonne) beyng the brightnes of his glory, and the very ymage of his substance, bearyng vp all thyngs with the worde of his power, hath in his owne person poured oure synnes, and is set on the righte hande of the maiestie on hie: beyng even as moche more excellent then y<sup>e</sup> angels, as he hath obteyned a more excellent name then they.</p>   | <p>God in tyme past dyuersly and many wayes, spake vnto the fathers by y<sup>e</sup> Prophetes but in these last dayes he hath spoken vnto vs by his sonne, whom he hath made heyre of all thyngs: by whom also he made y<sup>e</sup> worlde. Which sonne beyng the brightnes of his glory, and very ymage of his substance, bearyng vp all thyngs wyth the worde of his power, hath in his awne person purged oure synnes, and is sytten on the righte hande of the maiestie on hie, and is more excellent then the angels, in as moche as he hath by inheritaunce obteyned an excellent name then haue they.</p>  | <p>God in tyme past diuersly and many wayes, spake vnto the fathers by Prophetes: but in these last dayes he hath spoken vnto vs by his awne sonne, whom he hath made heyre of all thyngs, by whom also he made the worlde. Whych (sonne) beyng the brightnes of his glory, and the very ymage of his substance rulyng all thyngs wyth the worde of his power, hath by his awne person poured oure synnes, and syteth on the righte hande of the maiestie on hie: beyng so moche more excellent then the angels, as he hath by inheritaunce obteyned a more excellent name then they.</p>  | <p>1. At sondrie times and in diuers maners God spake in y<sup>e</sup> olde time to our fathers by the Prophetes:<br/>2. In these last dayes he hath spoken vnto us by his Sonne, whome he hath made heir of all thyngs, by whome also he made the worldes,<br/>3. Who being the brightnes of the glorie, and the ingraued forme of his persone, and bearyng vp all thyngs by his mightie worde, hath by him self purged our synnes, and sitteth at the right hand of the maiestie in the highest places,<br/>4. And is made so much more excellent then the Angels in as much as he hath obteyned a more excellent name then thei.<br/>5. For vnto which of the Angels said he at any time, Thou art my Sonne, this day begate I thee? and againe, I will be his Father, and be shalbe my sonne?<br/>6. And againe when he bringeth in his first begotten Sonne into the worlde, he saith, And let all the Angels of God worship him.<br/>7. And of the Angels he saith, He maketh the Spiritus his messengers, and his ministers a flame of fyre.<br/>8. But vnto the Sonne he saith, O God, thy throne is for euer and euer: the scepter of thy kingdome is a scepter of righteousness.<br/>9. Thou hast loued righteousness and hated iniquitie. Wherefore God, hath anointed thee with y<sup>e</sup> oyle of gladnes about thy felowes.</p> | <p>1. Go past, at and in spake v in the<br/>2. Ha dayes, in the he ha heyre by who the wor<br/>3. Wh brighte rie, and of his holdyn with t power, selfe sinnes, the ry the ma<br/>4. Be more the An by in: tayed lent na<br/>5. For the An at any my so haue I<br/>6. An be to and be a sonn when I the : sonne i he sait the A worship<br/>7. An gels he keth i rites, a a flam<br/>8. Du [he sa O Go euer a scepter dome   ryghte<br/>9. Th ryghte hated fore C God, I thee w gladne felowes</p>   |
| <p>For vnto which off the angels sayde he at any tyme: Thou art my sonne, this daye begate I the? And agayne: I will be his father, and he shalbe my sonne. And agayne when he bringeth in the fyrst begotten sonne in to the worlde, he sayth: And all the angels of god shall worshippe hym. And vnto the angels he sayth: He maketh his angels spretes, and his ministers flammes of fyre. But vnto the sonne he sayth: God thy seate shal be for ever and ever. The cepter of thy kyngdom is a right cepter. Thou hast loved rightewesnes and hated iniquite: Wherefore hath god, which is thy god, anoynted the with the oyle off gladnes above thy felowes.</p> | <p>For vnto which of the angels sayde he at any tyme: Thou art my sonne, this daye have I begotten the? And agayne: I will be his father, and he shalbe my sonne. And agayne when he bringeth in the fyrst begotten sonne in to the worlde, he sayth: And all the angels of God shal worshippe him. And of the angels he sayth: He maketh his angels spretes, and his ministers flammes of fyre. But vnto y<sup>e</sup> sonne he sayth: God, y<sup>e</sup> seate endureth for ever and ever: the cepter of y<sup>e</sup> kyngdom is a right cepter. Thou hast loved rightewesnes, and hated iniquyte: wherefore God (which is thy God) hath anoynted the with the oyle of gladnes above y<sup>e</sup> felowes.</p> | <p>For vnto which of the angels sayde he at any tyme: Thou art my sonne, this daye begate I the? And agayne: I will be his father, and he shalbe my sonne. And agayne when he bringeth in the fyrst begotten sonne into the worlde, he sayth: And all the angels of God shall worshippe hym. And of the angels he sayth: He maketh his angels spretes, and his ministers flammes of fyre. But vnto y<sup>e</sup> sonne he sayth: God, thy seate shalbe for ever and ever. The scepter of thy kyngdome is a ryght accepter. Thou hast loved ryghtewesnes and hated iniquyte. Wherefore God whych is thy God, hath anoynted the with the oyle of gladnes about thy felowes.</p> | <p>For vnto which of the angels sayde he at any tyme: Thou art my sonne, this daye have I begotten the? And agayne: I will be his father, and he shalbe my sonne. And agayne when he bringeth in the fyrst begotten sonne into the worlde, he sayth: And let all the angels of God worshippe hym. And vnto the angels he sayth: He maketh his angels spretes, and his ministers a flamme of fyre. But vnto the sonne he sayth: Thy seate (O God) shalbe for ever and ever. The scepter of thy kingdome is a ryght accepter. Thou hast loved ryghtewesnes, and hated iniquyte. Wherefore, God, even thy God hath anoynted the with the oyle of gladnes about thy felowes.</p> | <p>For vnto which of the angels sayde he at any tyme: Thou art my Sonne, this day begate I thee? and againe, I will be his Father, and be shalbe my sonne. And agayne when he bringeth in his first begotten Sonne into the worlde, he saith, And let all the Angels of God worship him. And of the Angels he saith, He maketh the Spiritus his messengers, and his ministers a flame of fyre. But vnto the Sonne he saith, O God, thy throne is for euer and euer: the scepter of thy kingdome is a scepter of righteousness. Thou hast loued righteousness and hated iniquitie. Wherefore God, hath anointed thee with y<sup>e</sup> oyle of gladnes about thy felowes.</p>  | <p>For vnto which of the angels sayde he at any tyme: Thou art my sonne, this daye have I begotten the? And agayne: I will be his father, and he shalbe my sonne. And agayne when he bringeth in the fyrst begotten sonne into the worlde, he sayth: And all the angels of god shall worshippe hym. And vnto the angels he sayth: He maketh his angels spretes, and his ministers flammes of fyre. But vnto the sonne he sayth: God thy seate shal be for ever and ever. The cepter of thy kyngdom is a right cepter. Thou hast loved rightewesnes and hated iniquite: Wherefore hath god, which is thy god, anoynted the with the oyle off gladnes above thy felowes.</p> |

# IONS OF THE BIBLE

portion of the same passage as it appears in the Wycliffite Bible  
ment made in the text, that the foundation of the Authorized  
upon subsequent translations; but in Tyndale, even in his earliest  
Bible gives Tyndale's version as finally revised by him, and all  
Tyndale is taken from Mr. F. Fry's facsimile reprint of the Bristol  
trends in translation since 1881.

## Authorized 1611

at sundry  
in diuers  
e in time  
e Fathers  
e, these last  
vnto vs  
e, whom  
appointed  
things, by  
he made

sing the  
if his glo-  
is expresse  
ding all  
e word of  
when hee  
he purged  
ate down  
and of the  
high,  
le so much  
the An-  
bath by  
obtained  
lent Name

which of  
said he at  
ou art my  
lay haue I  
e? And a-  
be to him  
d he shall  
sonne.

n, when he  
the first  
into the  
saith, And  
Angels of  
p him.  
the Angels  
ho maketh  
spirits, and  
is a flame

the Sonne,  
hy throne,  
for euer  
a scepter of  
is the  
thy king-

hast loued  
sse, and  
aitie, there-  
uen thy God  
inted thee  
yle of glad-  
ue thy fel-

## The Revised Version, 1881

1 God, having of old  
time spoken unto  
the fathers in the  
prophecy by diuers  
portions and in di-  
uers manners, hath  
at the end of these  
days spoken unto us  
in his Son, whom  
he appointed heir of  
all things, through  
whom also he made  
the worlds; who be-  
ing the effluence of  
his glory, and the  
very image of his  
substance, and up-  
holding all things  
by the word of his  
power, when he had  
made purification of  
sins, sat down on  
the right hand of  
the Majesty on high;  
4 having become by so  
much better than  
the angels, as he hath  
inherited a more ex-  
cellent name than  
they. For unto which  
of the angels said he  
at any time,

Thou art my Son,  
This day have I  
begotten thee?  
and again,  
I will be to him a  
Father,  
And he shall be to  
me a Son?

6 And when he again  
bringeth in the first-  
born into the world,  
he saith, And let all  
the angels of God  
worship him.

7 And of the angels he  
saith,  
Who maketh his  
angels winds,  
And his ministers  
a flame of fire;

8 But of the Son he  
saith,  
Thy throne, O  
God, is for ever  
and ever;

And the sceptre  
of uprightness is  
the sceptre of  
thy kingdom.  
9 Thou hast loved  
righteousness,  
and hated in-  
iquity:

Therefore God, thy  
God, hath anoi-  
nted thee  
With the oil of  
gladness above  
thy fellows.

## Weymouth, 1902

1 God who in ancient  
days spoke to our  
forefathers in many  
distinct messages and  
by various methods  
through the Prophets,  
2 has at the end of  
these days spoken to  
us through a Son, who  
is the predestined  
Lord of the uni-  
verse, and through  
whom He made the  
worlds. He brightly  
reflects God's glory  
and is the exact  
representation of His  
being, and upholds  
the universe by His  
all-powerful word.  
After securing man's  
purification from sin  
He took His seat at  
the right hand of the  
Majesty on high,  
4 having become as far  
superior to the angels  
as the Name He  
possesses by inheri-  
tance is more ex-  
cellent than theirs.  
5 For to which of the  
angels did God ever  
say,  
"MY SON ART THOU!  
I HAVE THIS DAY BE-  
COME THY FATHER  
AND AGAIN,  
I WILL BE A FATHER  
TO HIM  
AND HE SHALL BE MY  
SON".

6 But speaking of the  
time when He once  
more brings His  
Firstborn into the  
world, He says,  
"AND LET ALL GOD'S  
ANGELS WORSHIP  
HIM".

7 Moreover of the  
angels He says,  
"HE CHANGES HIS  
ANGELS INTO WINDS,  
AND HIS MINISTERING  
SERVANTS INTO A  
FLAME OF FIRE".

8 But of His Son He  
says,  
"THY THRONE, O GOD,  
IS FOR EVER AND  
FOR EVER,  
AND THE SCEPTRE OF  
THY KINGDOM IS A  
SCEPTRE OF ABSOL-  
UTE JUSTICE."

9 THOU HAST LOVED  
RIGHTEOUSNESS AND  
HATED LAWLESS-  
NESS;  
THEREFORE GOD, THY  
GOD, HAS ANOINTED  
THEE  
WITH THE OIL OF  
GLADNESS BEYOND  
THY COMPANIONS".

## Moffat, 1913

1 Many were the forms  
and fashions in which  
God spoke of old to  
our fathers by the  
prophets,

2 but in these days at  
the end he has  
spoken to us by a  
Son - a Son whom  
he has appointed  
heir of the universe,  
as it was by him that  
he created the world.

3 He, reflecting God's  
bright glory and  
stamped with God's  
own character, sus-  
tains the universe  
with his word of  
power; when he had  
secured our puri-  
fication from sins, he  
sat down at the right  
hand of the Majesty  
on high; and thus he  
is superior to the  
angels, as he has  
inherited a Name  
superior to theirs.

5 For to what angel  
did God ever say,  
"Thou art my son,  
to-day have I be-  
come thy father?"  
Or again,  
"I will be a father to  
him,  
and he shall be a son  
to me?"

6 And further, when  
introducing the First-  
born into the world,  
he says,  
"Let all God's angels  
worship him".

7 While he says of  
angels,  
"Who turns his angels  
into winds, his ser-  
uants into flames  
of fire",

8 he says of the Son,  
"God is thy throne  
for ever and ever,  
thy royal sceptre is the  
sceptre of equity:

9 thou hast loved justice  
and hated lawlessness,  
therefore God, thy God,  
has consecrated thee  
with the oil of rejoicing  
beyond thy comrades".

## Knox, 1945

1 In old days, God  
spoke to our fathers  
in many ways and by  
many means, through  
the prophets; now  
at last

2 in these times he has  
spoken to us, with a  
Son to speak for him;  
a Son, whom he has  
appointed to inherit  
all things, just as it  
was through him that  
he created this world

3 of time; a Son, who  
is the radiance of  
his Father's splen-  
dour, and the full  
expression of his  
being; all creation  
depends, for its sup-  
port, on his enabling  
word. Now, making  
atonement for our  
sins, he has taken his  
place on high, at the  
right hand of God's  
majesty, superior to  
the angels in that  
measure in which the  
name he has inheri-  
ted is more excel-  
lent than theirs.

5 Did God ever say to  
one of the angels,  
Thou art my Son,  
I have begotten thee  
this day? And again,  
He shall find in me a  
Father, and I in him  
a Son?

6 Why, when the time  
comes for bringing  
his first-born into the  
world anew, then, he  
says, Let all the angels  
of God worship before

7 him. What does he  
say of the angels?  
He will have his  
angels be like the  
winds, the servants  
that wait on him  
like a flame of fire.

8 And what of the Son?  
Thy throne, O God,  
stands firm for ever  
and ever; the sceptre  
of thy kingship is a  
rod that rules true.

9 Thou hast been a  
friend to right, an  
enemy to wrong; and  
God, thy own God,  
has given thee an  
unction to bring thee  
pride, as none else of  
thy fellows.

## Revised Standard Version, 1946

1 In many and various  
ways God spoke of  
old to our fathers by  
the prophets

2 but in these last days  
he has spoken to us  
by a Son, whom he  
appointed the heir of  
all things, through  
whom also he created  
the world.

3 He reflects the glory  
of God and bears the  
very stamp of his  
nature, upholding  
the universe by his  
word of power. When  
he had made puri-  
fication for sins he  
sat down at the right  
hand of the Majesty  
on high,

4 having become as  
much superior to the  
angels as the name  
he has obtained is  
more excellent than  
theirs.

5 For to what angel  
did God ever say,  
"Thou art my Son,  
today have I  
begotten thee?"  
Or again,  
"I will be to him  
a father,  
and he shall be  
to me a son?"

6 And again, when he  
brings the first-born  
into the world he says  
"Let all God's  
angels worship  
him".

7 Of the angels he says,  
"Who makes his  
angels winds,  
and his servants  
flames of fire".

8 But of the Son he  
says, "Thy throne, O  
God, is for ever  
and ever,  
the righteous scep-  
ter is the scepter  
of thy kingdom.

9 Thou hast loved  
righteousness  
and hated law-  
lessness;  
therefore God, thy  
God, has anoi-  
nted thee with  
the oil of glad-  
ness beyond thy  
comrades".